LAPLAND:

THE NATIVE NORTH IN NORWAY

[This material was prepared for the Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development Secretariat, Government of the Northwest Territories (NWT), Yellowknife, CANADA. The opinions and recommendations are those of the author and do not reflect the views of the Government of the NWT.]

Written 1988 by

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to inform Canadians about aboriginal politics and related northern policy in Norway.

Norway shares so many of the ideals and outlooks of Canada that its work in this field can only be of interest.

North Norway, like northern Canada and all circumpolar countries, reveals a conflict between goals of national integration and regional/cultural autonomy.

Just as social equality has been the great triumph of 20th century Norway, the challenge of pluralism may now require increasing political and social energy.

Although southern Canada's northern experience is recent, Sami (Lapp) and Norwegian relations and northern history provide many centuries of experience and are rich in lessons.

The lack of specifically northern institutions and a concept of northern policy in Norway are serious drawbacks, and contribute to political disaffection.

Sami number about 50,000 in a country of 4.2 million; they are not a visible minority and only are identified by Norwegians as Sami when speaking their language or wearing traditional clothes.

Reactionary politics among many northern Norwegians do not keep pace with Norwegian national views on pluralism and severely restrict Sami aspirations.

Sami traditional rights and economic development have been threatened by government policy, incoming settlers and industrial expansion, leading to creation of aboriginal associations.

The Sami reindeer association and industry may be particularly relevant to Canada as an economic development model.

The political program of the Sami rights association is similar to that of Inuit and Dene.

A state committee has found that Sami rights should receive much more protection, thanks to international agreements signed also by Canada, than has been the case.

In particular, the committee finds a strong case for protection of aboriginal resource rights as essential to Sami survival.

The committee proposed an elected Sami national parliament (now being created) with significant advisory roles and the possibility of growing decision-making power.

The committee proposed a constitutional amendment providing a basis for recognition of and policy towards Sami, and this has now passed through Parliament.

Another state committee, on Sami culture, has proposed strong rights for Sami language and education, and the proposed law (Appendix 1) is passing through Parliament.

Sami public service hiring preferences in Sami areas could be an important boost to Sami influence in public affairs.

Sea Sami, like many Canadian Métis and non-status Indians, have had particular problems of culture loss and now face "exodus and assimilation".

The Norwegian Prime Minister's world report on environment and development, the "Brundtland report", provides guidelines relevant to Sami and northern development.

Reindeer Sami face special challenges from rationalist and ideological Norwegians threatening their way of life.

Norwegian government policy is seriously out of step with Sea Sami and Reindeer Sami needs; economic development, environment and land use agreements recognising Sami history and occupation may be needed to prevent tragedy.

Sami are debating self-government and aboriginal rights issues, but do not have the Canadian level of funds to maintain national lobbies to inform official and public opinion.

Sami face serious internal divisions which have undermined their political work.

Further official reports expected soon may provide further progress on aboriginal rights in the north.

There are many specific subjects where work by northern Canadians with Norwegians would be beneficial (listed in chapter 8).

Northern Canada would benefit from a facility dedicated to northern research and teaching like the University of Tromsö.

Norwegian proposals for joint work in aboriginal rights with their dissimilar neighbour countries deserve consideration in the context of northern North America.

The Government of the Northwest Territories should examine the possibility of leading Canada's work with Norway in circumpolar relations, within the context of federal management of international relations.

PREFACE

The purpose of this study of Norwegian experience is to provide information to the Government of the Northwest Territories on other instances of northern political and administrative reform, and on questions relating to aboriginal rights.

Although written with regard to northern Canada, subjects included may be relevant elsewhere in Canada and the world.

In preparing this study I had begun a large compilation of facts, summaries and quotations from the more than 50 lbs. of notes I have collected. Finally I decided that sending a virtual filing cabinet to my Canadian colleagues might not be doing them a favour. Instead, I have tried to distill and simplify a very rich subject and region which, remarkably, has not been written about by Norwegians in an overall way. I have tried to note the main points of similarity and current interest in Norwegian Lapland, to reflect on the overall Norwegian experience, and to indicate in Chapter 8 some areas for specific further study by specialists. Chapter 9 deals with broad questions of Norwegian-Canadian cooperation.

The contents of this paper reflect reading, study, interviews and travel over many years. It would be foolish to single out some sources and not others, even if I could remember all the individuals and materials I have found helpful. But several people have offered me generous hospitality and facilities over the years, and have answered more than their share of questions. These people have made my work possible in a very direct and personal way, and have been especially encouraging. They are Terje Brantenberg, Ivar Björklund, Harald Gaski, Britt Rajala, and Professor Per Mathiesen of Tromsö; Eva Solem of Oslo; and Georg Henriksen of Bergen. And before I knew any of these people was the late Helge Kleivan.

My cousin, Gordon Jull, preceded me in North Norway, albeit offshore on Canadian ships in the Murmansk convoys of the early 1940s. He was interested in my travels but was unable to accept an invitation to join me on a visit to North Norway because of his final, fatal illness in 1986. This small book is dedicated to him.

Peter Jull

1 - INTRODUCTION

The purpose of any study of another place is to know our own better.

When we travel abroad we are taking our own notion of the world with us. We judge foreign places or habits by our own, and find them puzzling or amusing, frightening or pleasant, according to what is familiar to us. Therefore, a New Yorker visiting Toronto may enjoy the relaxed pace and safe streets, while a farmer from Saskatchewan may find the same city fast, cold and dangerous.

Study is different from other kinds of travel - after all, we are not paying to enjoy the place nor committing ourselves to living there. But purposeful study travel is a good way to enjoy a new place. It requires us to meet the locals and discuss real questions with them. It enables us to learn why things are the way they are, and that makes them less mysterious or threatening. Humans are very insecure, and the slightest change - in choice of breakfast cereal or daily routine - is often upsetting for people. Even people who are confident and experienced travellers can become quite unnerved when they move to a foreign place and have to re-establish their identities, making a new life out of new materials, and without the usual network of reassuring certainties.

Some study travel is a waste of time. People go not really to learn but to feel safe and important - that they or their hometown are "ahead" of those foreigners, that they really have nothing to learn from them. Or they go to be dazzled, and imagine that everything is wonderful somewhere else. Or they try so hard to fit what they see into their already prepared categories that they see and learn little.

As a general rule, therefore, it is best for any organisation which is going to spend money on study travel to know that the persons travelling are prepared to make a success of the trip and provide some useful output on return. Now that the habit of circumpolar exchanges is developing, this subject and associated costs may be important. The final two chapters of this report make some quite specific suggestions for further work on the major priorities of northern Canada today.

When one is reading or writing a study based on foreign travel or foreign material, it is important to know what one is looking for. It is not, primarily, to find some law or technique which can be simply transferred to use at home, nor to find out if we are "ahead" of somebody else. Instead, it is to explore situations which are somehow parallel - because they are northern, or because they involve aboriginal rights, or because they involve some other concern of our own - and by looking at them without the prejudices or habit of home, understand more of the way things really work. When we realise that our way of doing things is not a God-given truth, but only one way among many possible ways of doing things, we can concentrate on what solves problems rather than what reinforces our habits. After all, if we take the time to study something it is because we have a problem with it - and that means our habits and habitual ways of seeing and doing things are somehow not adequate. Therefore, it is in our interests to understand the way things work first, before we start prescribing solutions.

The following pages are written for Canadians. What strikes Canadians as interesting or relevant may be different from what Norwegians or others might see. There may be whole subjects of great interest to Norwegians ignored here. For instance, in the chapter on the Sami Rights Committee report there is no discussion of the debate on method of election of a Sami parliament, even though that has consumed more energy than any other proposal. The reason for this oversight is that the issue has no possible interest or relevance for Canadians. The purpose of a comparative study is to relate experience in North Norway to Canadian interests and needs.

Norway is the foreign country which Canada might most like to be - if we were not Canada.

Physically it closely resembles Canada with abundant rock, water and coniferous forest. The Norwegians live between the latitude of Tuktoyaktuk and Igloolik in the north and Fort Chipewyan and Fort Chimo (now Kuujjuaq) in the south. Oslo, the national capital and main city, is at the latitude of Fort Smith.

Norway is among the first countries on earth in terms of living standards, but deplores "conspicuous consumption". It has all the modern conveniences but protects the near as well as the far countryside and wilderness from litter, billboards, strip development and pollution so that the very outdoors oriented population may always enjoy them. Tram lines in Oslo go right out into the empty forests, so one can walk, picnic or ski with minimal inconvenience, while many miles of ski and walking trail, with their corridors of green and silence, penetrate deep into the busy city. Good roads and bus routes reach every corner of the land, and the coastline is accessible year-round thanks to ice-free harbours. Careful community planning and protection of heritage make for pleasant and livable urban areas. Major crime and all poverty have been virtually eliminated throughout Norway, and good housing and public services are available in even the most remote hamlets. Women have a better deal than in other countries, and make up half the national cabinet. Day care is plentiful and of high quality. Jobs are available and the constitution demands full employment, an ideal more nearly reached than in other countries. The health system is excellent and, what with good preventive health care, the people are the healthiest on earth. Their emphasis on physical fitness is unbelievable to anyone who has not visited the country, and is a major element in national health. With a population of only 4.2 million, there are nonetheless thriving craft, art, music, drama, film and literature scenes. People work hard and are serious about the quality of what they do; they are also very serious about justice and well-being for others.

The costs of all this excellence are real too. Tax rates are, by Canadian standards, punitive. Labour costs and tax make dining out a game only for foreign tourists or those on expense accounts; for the locals it really has to be a celebration. The extent of regulation, and some of the bottlenecks it causes - notably in the city housing market - can be frustrating. The country is small, and with almost everything organised in some officially recognised body, the air can feel close at times. It is not surprising that university-aged youth are attracted in large numbers to the radical Left, almost the only place one can escape the embrace of "the system". Many decades of serious reform instigated by the Left, which always seems to control the social and political agenda, has made for a Labour establishment every bit as stolid and respectable as establishments elsewhere.

The public do-gooding which Americans find so irritating in Canada is "state of the art" in Norway. Although the country is small, its people are interested in and mindful of the wider world, and active in world affairs. The belief in democracy and fairness permeates public and private thinking, and is reverently pursued to achieve equity in results as well as in opportunity. But the small size of the country, and the lack of alternative sources of influence and ideas within its streamlined and rather corporatist structure means a very compact national Establishment. It is, therefore, easy for certain assumptions of what is in the National Interest to go largely undebated and unchallenged.

While Norway, like the other countries of northern Europe, has successfully implemented what may seem to outsiders a radical equality, the appreciation of social and cultural pluralism has not progressed so far. Equality has often been interpreted colloquially as uniformity; those who deviate in habits or attire are a little suspect. Such recent attitudes, mistaking progress for homogeneity, together with the long-standing ethnic homogeneity of the settled areas, can make Norway uncomfortable at times for visible minorities and the Lapps. The ease with which Norwegians travel today, the greater number of foreign visitors and foreign residents, and film and TV bringing the world closer, not to mention fashions of American eclecticism, seem to be breaking down such parochialism. But even the most cosmopolitan Norwegian may have a stern silent self to slip into on returning home from a more extroverted existence abroad. It is the misfortune of many visitors to Norway to misinterpret this reserve as unfriendliness.

Norway's national success has been earned. At the turn of the century it was the poorest country in Europe. Its modern economy has been built cumulatively on cheap hydro-electric power from the many water bodies draining the mountains and ice-fields; receipts from world-wide shipping interests; and most recently the oil and gas reserves in the North and Norwegian Seas. Economic planning and manpower training have been integral parts of the process. The role of the state has been central to success.

Norway, like Sweden and Ireland, lost about half its population to North America over many decades of hard times from the late 19th century. Migration continued into the 20th century and everyone has relatives in America. The feelings towards North America, especially the USA, are ambivalent today: American dominance in many fashions is obvious, and those who have visited America find much to enjoy and admire, but aggressive and insensitive American foreign policies and the propping up of Right-wing dictators in the world have alienated Norwegian opinion. Norwegians tend to be amused by puritanical North American mores, such as the forced retirement of a Canadian defence minister or American presidential candidate for sexual innuendo or peccadillo. They are horrified by American extremes of poverty and by arguments there against extending social services to those in need, and see this as the selfishness of the rich and powerful. The image of Canada is not always very sharp or sharply distinguished from the rest of "America", although a strong fashion for Canadian literature may be helping. (On the other hand, the studiously fatuous CBC program on Norwegian womanhood broadcast in late 1987, featuring interviews with Norway's Prime Minister and leading public figures, has done nothing to increase respect for Canada.)

In the 20th century Norway has determinedly supported international action to enforce world standards and world peace, deploring self-serving actions by large and powerful states against weaker neighbours. Having been conquered and occupied by Nazi Germany and having the probing, testing, demanding USSR on its northern border, this is not surprising. Norway is also sensitive about the 1815-1905 period under Swedish rule, although Norway's parliament and administration (excepting foreign and defence policy) remained autonomous. Before 1815 long centuries under the Danish Crown were times of hardship, poverty and exploitation. The legacies of centuries of domination have meant great pride in self-reliance, a lack of a traditional indigenous ruling class and a strong rural tradition as the basis of national culture.

The great cities are rather small. Oslo is the size of Ottawa with half a million people, a city which is essentially an industrial revolution creation of the 19th century. Bergen, half the size, has been a merchant port for a thousand years and has an air of comfortable culture. Trondheim sits on a wide fjord and feels very much a northern place, as it is, the great painted warehouses along both sides of its river mouth a continuation of the time when the viking kings kept loot and gifts in these buildings and made the town their capital. Stavanger, once a beautiful old town, has been the national sacrifice to the offshore industry's needs with its rapid growth and onshore facilities.

Despite its outward-looking and Atlantic aspect, Norway is a country of narrow valleys and dark long winters. Until modern times these valleys and their rural festivals were the ambit of life. Identity is still closely bound up with a given fjord or dale, and city living a matter of recent times for most. Life in those fjords was simple and harsh, as constricting as some of those valleys feel when one passes through today, the heavy Pietism and disapproval of the old Lutherans having not yet disappeared. Alcohol is a national problem and national neurosis. The Danes feel themselves very civilised and superior to the brooding Norwegians and Swedes who take full advantage of relaxed liquor laws to let off steam away on visits to Copenhagen.

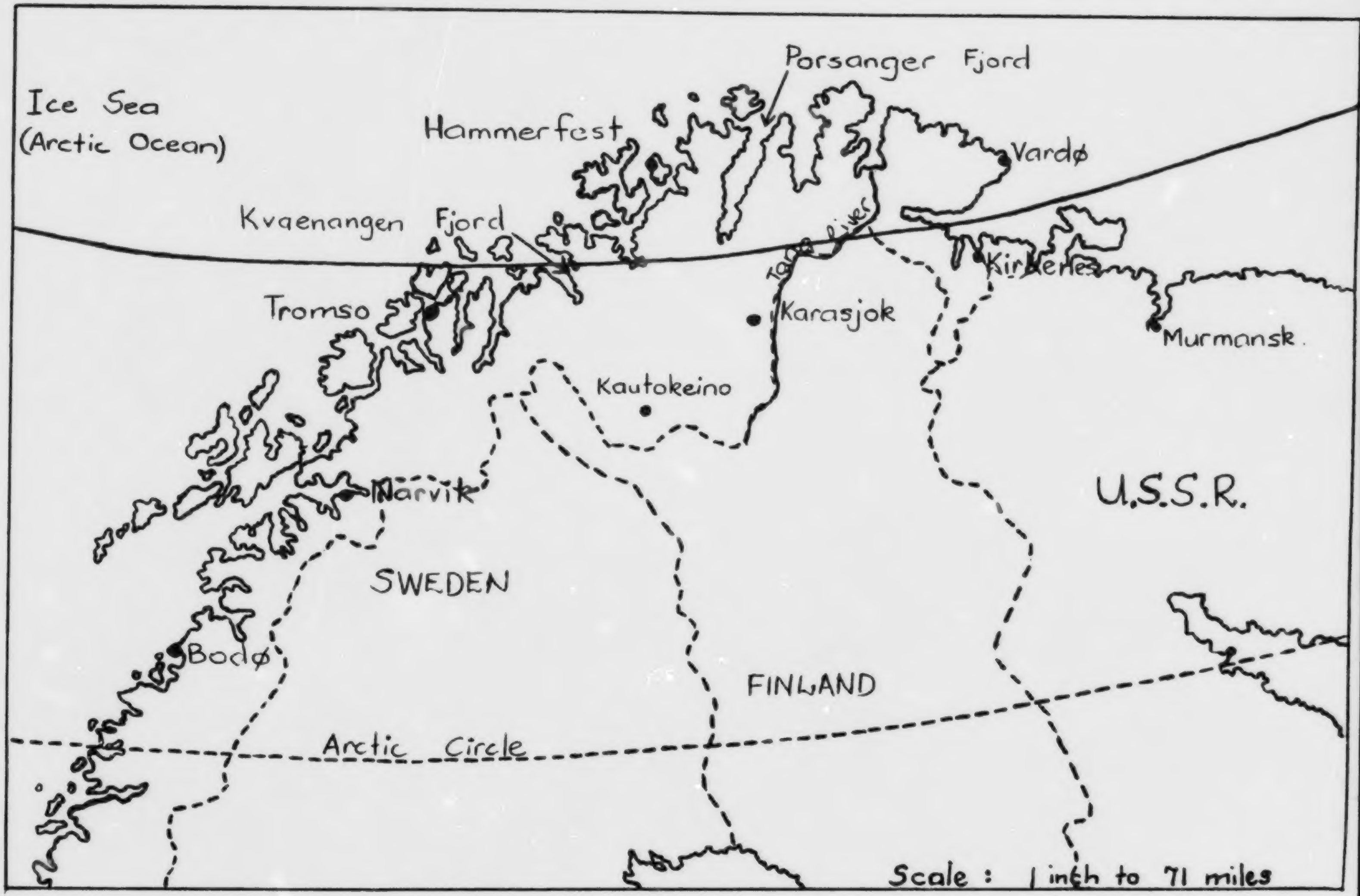
Despite their common front to the outer world, each of the Nordic countries has a very different character. Norway is much more accessible to a Canadian than Denmark or Sweden, being less formal, more direct and not standing on national mystification.

Norway is bound up with our own history, of course. The common origin of English and Norwegian languages is evident to anyone, most basic vocabulary being the same. But for more complex expression, the English prefer Latin roots and the Norwegians, Old Norse, so casual understanding is not easy. Norwegian settlement of the Atlantic islands and Scotland, and incursions elsewhere in Britain, provide much common history. The Norwegians also settled the Faroes, Shetland, Iceland and Greenland. And it was in making their way to the Greenland colony in the years before 1000 AD that Norwegians found the coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador and Baffin. That they later made at least summer camps, if not permanent settlements, in what is now Canada is proven by archeological remains near St. Anthony on the northern tip of Newfoundland, as well as by saga evidence. At the very least the Greenland Norwegians seem to have regularly visited Labrador for timber they could not obtain elsewhere. Some contact with Inuit in what is now Canada also probably continued over many centuries on our shores, in addition to Norwegian summer expeditions into Baffin Bay for trade goods like falcons, walrus hide and tusk, narwhal tusk and polar bear skins which were highly prized in Europe.

Norway in recent times was also active in the Canadian arctic, notably in the expeditions early in the century when Norwegian place-names were provided in the Queen Elizabeth Islands. The 1930 exchange of notes between Canada/Britain and Norway ending Norwegian claims in those islands did, however, stipulate that Canada would give aboriginal renewable resource use priority in development of the region.

The relative lack of contact between Norway and Canada is unfortunate. Both countries have much to admire in each other, and both do, when given the opportunity. Our peoples share important social and cultural values, and our concepts of active government and public intervention for social well-being make our politics similar. If national rhetoric and colonial descent turn Canadians towards London and Paris, real acquaintance and smaller country status make Oslo, Stockholm, Helsinki, Reykjavik, Edinburgh, Dublin and Copenhagen more natural and often more relevant national partners.

A Canadian will feel comfortable in Norway with the quality of life and public culture, the attitudes and mores of the people, and the style of living which is obviously more healthy than our own. The fact that everyone understands and most people speak English makes communication easy. Government and public administration have reached the highest point of development and success yet achieved on earth. In this context, it is especially important for Canadians to know how Norwegians are coping with similar questions of northern development and aboriginal rights.


Ice Sea
(Arctic Ocean)
Hammerfest
Porsanger Fjord
Vardø
Kvaenangen Fjord
Tromso
Tana River
Karasjok
Kirkenes
Murmansk.
Kautokeino
Narvik
U.S.S.R.
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Bodø
Arctic Circle
Scale : 1 inch to 71 miles

3 - NORTH NORWAY, NORWEGIAN LAPLAND

Lapland is a broad area between the Norwegian Sea in the west and the White Sea in the east, whose southern boundaries have moved steadily northwards as Norwegians, Swedes, Finns and Russians have settled and exploited resources of the land. Within the northern area itself the economic and demographic policies of these four competing European nations, as well as their security and sovereignty demands, have resulted in boundaries, administration, regulation and other general disruption of Sami society and livelihoods. In the bizarre world of diplomacy and international law these things cannot be called by their real names - invasion, or annexation, or takeover, or displacement. Rather, the fiction of the national state as a perfect and sacred thing, where all that takes place within its current borders is right, proper and pre-ordained, forces a frequently confusing rhetoric of euphemisms and the wishing away of ancient homelands and peoples. But they persist.

North Norway provides Canadians with a long view of "northern development". Whereas the history of northern Canada invariably means post-war government policy - the rest being merely anthropology or anecdote, and of no account - North Norway reveals millennia of change and continuity. In those north coasts and plains have been ancient migrations and departures; the invention of skiing; vikings; Russian traders; Swedish tax collectors; the Black Death; Norwegianization campaigns; Nazi occupation and scorched earth policy; alternating national policies of population movement and concentration, and of delivering services to where people live; Soviet nuclear, naval and marine forces concentrated by the Norwegian border, and the US Navy's carrier task forces ready to confront them in the north Norewgian Sea; and fallout from Chernobyl. Thousands of years demonstrate constant flux, with the stability provided by a renewable resource economy of land, streams and sea, and by a flexible Sami culture geared to those resources.

The manner in which the generally quiet struggles take place between national states and northern peoples is the subject of this study. It concerns not only Norway and Canada. In the first instance there are the rich and strong countries of the First World, among whom are found the northern countries and "northern territories" of most interest and relevance to northern Canadians - Alaska/USA, Canada, Greenland/Denmark, Faroe Islands/Denmark, Shetland/UK, Lapland/Norway, Lapland/Sweden, Lapland/Finland. The fact that these are also some of the most advanced countries on earth is especially relevant: the problem of northern peoples vis-à-vis national political culture and institutions becomes precedent-making for the world. What happens in these countries becomes a model and sets standards for others to follow, or risk censure when they too obviously do not follow. Norway and Canada have been leaders in promoting such precedents through world human rights bodies.

The mechanics of northern development in our northern countries are very simple. On the one hand is a self-confident and powerful state seeing to unfinished business, integrating its most remote and sparsely populated areas into the fine national scheme of things. On the other is an ancient society built around traditional livelihoods and resource use which finds its stability, economy and accustomed rights under siege by outsiders - outsiders armed with the full force of the national law. The confrontation of national legal doctrines and more ancient customary rights, of conflicting ideas of resource use, of national *vs.* local economic shares in development, of cultures and languages, and finally of national, regional or ethnic political movements, rather than a fulfilling saga of national pride, may well become a challenge to national ideology and something of an embarrassment.

The battle has been fought to a certain outcome in the northern world, whereas in other First World countries, like Australia, it has not come so far (nor apparently been influenced much by other First World precedents). What has happened is that *the northern NATO countries, plus others like Sweden and Finland, despite their preoccupations with northern security and defence, have accepted flexibility in their institutions and accommodation of territorially-based minorities as being in the national interest.* This is a clear result, but as a trend (if it continues), or an accomplishment, it seems largely unremarked by the very governments which deserve credit for it. Perhaps the military fixation with unity as a monolithic undifferentiated mass still haunts our politicians and policy makers. Even now that a clear principle has been established, it has not been fully admitted. It does not seem to animate daily decisions in government, nor clear the way for real political settlements in northern areas. Even in Norway and Canada where governments have moved forward to constitutional recognition and special instruments for aboriginal minorities, many matters requiring resolution seem to lead to renewed debate and delay rather than to firm action. Yet Canada and Norway are seen as world leaders.

Canada and Norway, and, equally, their sub-national authorities like the Northwest Territories or Finnmark *fylke*, have an obligation to continue their good beginnings and reach some workable conclusions. They have advanced too far to stop without risking serious disaffection, but have not advanced far enough yet to see many benefits of their northern and aboriginal policies. Some familiarity with the Norwegian case may help Canadians make good choices in the next phase of work.

The collision of national interests is at the heart of Lapland. In the pine forests, along the rivers and among the lakes and rocks which unite Sami are the frontiers, some armed and forbidding like the Soviet, others cheery and helpful, but all serving to divide what was a unity. The Sami have relatives and activities across the borders, and some degree of political cooperation and renewed cultural sharing by means of new technologies like broadcasting. But a land and a people are divided, and with the decisions for its continuance and well-being taken in offices along the margins or in southern capitals, almost always by non-Sami, the future of that Sami heartland cannot be taken for granted. Furthermore, national sovereignty and progress are too often equated with industrial development or physical constructions, the very things which are most threatening to the living resources of the Sami land. So the symbols of northern presence and achievement are apt to be the very worst, from a Sami viewpoint.

A similar situation arose among Inuit anxious to defend Canadian marine jurisdiction in the interests of consistent pollution controls. The answer of some was to send lots of ships crashing through the northern ice channels under Canadian rules and with Canadian pilots, in order to show Canada was in charge. Inuit leaders like Mark Gordon said that their history, presence and livelihoods along those coasts and extending across the sea ice were all the demonstration needed on Canada's behalf. [1] But that is not the end of the Canadian story. Inuit use of the seas has become a central point in Canada's continued push to have its sovereignty confirmed. President Reagan, meeting the foreign press before the Venice economic summit in 1987, spoke of the special situation in the arctic seas occasioned by Inuit use. The commitment of aboriginal peoples to their homelands is absolute. Sami demonstrated this in North Norway during the Nazi occupation and later "scorched earth" withdrawal. Norway is again concerned about the situation in North Norway, not invasion but emigration. It may be that resource use and economic agreements with Sami would provide the basis for stability and economic certainty which is required - the same motives behind Canadian land claims settlements.

Lapland is easily described. It is not a north-running coast but a coast sweeping in a semi-circle from west to east where Norway adjoins the Soviet Union. Along the outer coast are many rugged islands, while the mainland coast is heavily indented with fjords. The coast is a long curve of sharp mountains. Then, moving inland into valleys and fjord bottoms, one moves towards the Finnmark Plain the great reindeer land of the Sami. South of that Plain the interior is lower, more strewn with lakes and bogs, typical northern land good for reindeer and for the many other hunting, fishing and gathering pursuits of a northern people. Finnmark's Plain is the only place where Norway is wide enough to extend inland beyond the mountainous coast. Northernmost Norway - northern Troms and Finnmark counties - stretches along both sides of 70 degrees North latitude, running east-west so far that the eastern towns are actually farther east than Istanbul. The third North Norway county, Nordland, is narrow and includes the Lofoten Islands. The coastal climate of the whole sweep of northern coast is mild thanks to the Gulf Stream, and for the same reason teeming with fish in waters meeting the Arctic. North Norwegian ports are open year-round. Deep snows bury the coast in winter, like Canada's Maritime Provinces. Inland away from the damp coast is the deep cold of arctic and sub-arctic winter, and the more frequently clear skies, winter or spring. The tree which appears in the coastal and interior lands north of pine and spruce forest is the short and twisted dwarf birch. This is typical of all Eurasia, the north often being called "the birch forest zone". The Finnmark Plain is a dwarf birch area, and if anything grows on the coast it is this birch, while some of the fjord bottoms seem suddenly lush with the quiet of pine forest. In the east, marking much of the Norwegian-Finnish boundary, is the Tana River, the westernmost of the great Eurasian rivers emptying into the Arctic Ocean. The river life along this wide and often shallow river is a particular version of the Sami society, sometimes called River Sami. Here the year's highlight is the salmon run. The Reindeer Sami are inland, migrating outwards in spring to west, north and east from the interior to summer grazing on the coasts. The Sea Sami live along the fjords and some of the islands of the coast.

Tromsö is the main city of the north, a growing centre on an island with spectacular fjord- and mountain-scapes in all directions. Its spring girls in the latest European fashions, world-class restaurants, numberless computer shops and more night clubs than Oslo, all at 70 degrees North latitude, seem natural. Yet its same downtown has the outport and rugged quality as well, and fresh seafood sold from the boat decks. Vardö, an island far to the east, is the only truly "arctic" city in climate, and looks across the sea to the white cliffs of Russia. Kirkenes is a mining town that could be almost anywhere in northern Canada, but is only a mile or so from the Soviet border. The vicissitudes of Kirkenes' economy and labour relations are frequently anxious issues of national importance. Bodö is another large northern town, the beginning of the real north, one might say. Narvik is old and a name known to Canadians from wartime history. The coast is dotted with attractive and compact towns and villages, and a traveller is never able to forget for more than a moment the twin basics of life - fish and reindeer.

The Norwegian population has tended to concentrate in the towns, and in particular farming districts. It outnumbers the Sami by a margin of perhaps 5-1, but as in northern Canada where a single mining town may overwhelm the numbers for a vast area of dispersed aboriginal settlement, the fact communicates little. North Norway numbers only a few hundred thousand, the total numbers declining, although the larger towns are growing.

Norway's total population is about 4.2 millions. However, the roads and settlement of the northern coasts, and the roads, forestry and mining, and hydro-electric projects which have been pushed northwards in Norway, Sweden and Finland, have all crowded the Sami and steadily eliminated productive resource areas. Recreation travel has also taken a toll. The Sami way of life simply does not fit into the categories of an industrial state, or even into its fishing and farming sectors (see chapter 6). But there are political and organisational threats as well. For the Nordic planning states committed to the belief that all things can be made more rational, the uncodified and esoteric resource management of a non-industrial people is a standing challenge. Sami are sometimes blamed for the biological difficulties which these states encounter as a result of their industrial activities and previous decisions, sparking demands for "responsible" management and accountability to the whole (non-Sami) public. What protection Sami ways have had has been largely neglect - neglect of their areas by governments and industry. It must be remembered, too, that the Nordic states see a main role of government as directing policies from the enlightened centre to rescue remote people from regional backwardness, with little nonsense about local decentralisation or devolution, or nostalgia for eccentricity. The Anglo-Saxon fondness for local self-determination does not animate Nordic local government theory. [2] Now that Sami are trying to convert greater state goodwill into practical guarantees and administraative régimes, they are finding it difficult. The Nordic peoples may have somewhat different hang-ups than Canadians, but these prevent progress as effectively. As a Swedish Sami leader once remarked to an admirer of Nordic progress, "We would rather fight against a big capitalist company than a righteous social democratic government."

Canadians are apt to wonder about the close Soviet presence. Language specialists have noted that many terms in Finnmark use the adjective "Russian" for whatever is locally biggest - fish, fowl, etc. One senses a sort of Stockholm effect: Soviet power is close and dangerous, whereas the Americans are remote and have no designs on North Norway, so it is natural to speak out against American policies and fear them as provocations, while remaining fearfully silent about Soviet motivations. However, Russian traders were important along the coast until the First World War, and Soviet forces drove the Nazis out in 1944-5. There is nothing mysterious or demonic about the Russians, because they are old, and sometimes difficult, neighbours. At national level the struggle between Norway and the Soviets over Svalbard rights and the Norwegian-Soviet border in the Barents Sea are ongoing disputes. Norway has been quick to see value in accepting Gorbachev's new northern spirit as stated in his lengthy Murmansk speech of October 1, 1987. On the whole, Norway is ambivalent. A Norwegian government newsletter distributed abroad, in an issue two or three years ago, began with two large feature stories:

the first proclaimed that relations with the Soviets were fine, that all was peaceful and friendly, and that nobody should think otherwise, while the second warned of the military readiness of Norwegians to fight in the north and their excellent capability with NATO's full support, etc. Both reports were from speeches by the same senior Norwegian official - perhaps even from the same speech. Soviet relations are a major and continuing issue in Norway, but the numbers of Soviet-oriented Left supporters are notably scarce compared with other European countries. Soviet submarine probes of the northern and western fjords, and some lurid post-war spy ventures, have not increased Norwegian feelings of security. The large Soviet landing force of marines stationed a few miles from the Norwegian border on the arctic coast is also a constant worry. Why are they there? Where could they possibly be used except against northern neighbours? The Norwegians hope that through cooperative ventures, e.g., offshore oil exploration, it may be possible to develop a more relaxed relationship and a little trust with the Soviet Union.

Norway has been the most progressive of the three Nordic governments in Lapland. Some 75% of Sami live in Norway, and in recent times Norwegian progress in Sami policy has tended to be followed in the other two countries. Nevertheless, while northern aboriginal people in Canada have had relatively limited and recent contact with European settlers, accounting for their relative lack of bitterness compared to Indians in southern Canada, the Sami have had very long contact with the Nordic people. The fact that Nordic countries may be just now "discovering" them, does not mean the Sami have not learned more than they wished to know about their neighbours a long time ago. Hence, the frequent Sami coolness in majority-minority relations. But because Sami have so few national rights recognised, no political boundaries and few rights secured as is reindeer herding, Norwegians may have no notion of trespass in another's homeland. Now that settlement, construction projects, and industrial pressures are reaching critical levels in Lapland, Sami political organisation has tried to meet the challenge. Not surprisingly, Sami have sought the very kinds of protections the Norwegians understand - laws, development rights, subsidies, regulations, political structures, etc. In so doing aboriginal peoples often lose some sentimental support; some see them as "abandoning" their culture. But they have to survive.

Besides, who are we to define another's culture? If we were to define our own culture by occupations, styles of dress, figures of speech, building materials and political organisation, we would have to conclude that Shakespeare's age and Chaucer's, not to mention William the Conqueror's and King Alfred's, did not apply to our English-speaking people. Even the language would be unintelligible from one era to the other. However, we celebrate all the transitions and traditions as a proud historical and cultural continuum. Sami, Inuit and Dene adapt no less. Even the characteristic reindeer herding industry, practised by only some 10% of Sami, seems to have been a major economic form only for five centuries or so. Reindeer, of course, have always been present and been a major food item. The reindeer appears on the earliest rock paintings along with the characteristic circumpolar drum, the same drums used by Dene and Inuit.

The Norwegian Sami Association, NSR, is the main Sami rights lobby, drawing much of its strength from the inland and Sami core areas, as well as from Sami professionals and others in large centres. It would most closely resemble one of the mainstream Canadian aboriginal rights groups. However, there are many differences. Norway does not fund aboriginal groups beyond some very token amounts. NSR has very modest offices which no Canadian regional aboriginal group would think sufficient. (The Canadian government "core funding" of the aboriginal movement, admired widely in the world as a human rights policy, is especially admired by Norwegians and Sami who are aware of it.) The organisation relies more on the time and work volunteered by its executive and other members, many of whom are white collar professionals. Expenses including travel are often paid by members themselves. Because the Norwegian political parties are highly structured, and political activism a considerable tradition in the north, many NSR members are also active members of Norwegian parties. These parties, especially the Left parties which are the ones popular among northern activists, have fundamental policy and philosophical debates and viewpoints which are taken most seriously, unlike our English-speaking traditions and approach. Importing these Norwegian political differences into NSR through its membership, as well as bringing the many views on aboriginal policy and rights held by informed people, many of whom have studied or worked with advanced social theory, plus the fact that NSR is a coalition of interests at best, means that major issues and tactical moves are not easily agreed. NSR has seemed usually successful in finding its top leader in a person more towards the radical side but willing and able to work with moderates, and so has maintained general coherence. Sami politics are very vehement, and sometimes "there are too many Chiefs and not enough Indians". The result in recent years, complain many Sami, has been too little visible action and determined political influence.

The basic Norwegian Sami position has been stated many times, often preceded by a general statement, since 1972. There is more than one English translation credited to NSR and the following, more readable than others, is taken from the newspaper Sami Aigi, supplement in English, January 16, 1981.

> We are Samis and we intend to remain Samis. We are neither more nor less than other peoples of the world. We are a people with a common area of settlement, a language of our own, and a cultural and social organization of our own.

Through the course of history, we have survived in Sami (Land of the Samis). We possess a culture which we wish to expand and develop.

We have experienced how the land where we lived and survived has been taken from us; how that land has deteriorated and been deprived of wealth. We have been pushed aside. Strangers have taxed us, strangers have lied to us, and strangers have separated our people with their own national boundaries. We have experienced the deterioration of our traditions and our cultural heritage. We have experienced the deprivation of our customs and our way of life which have been taken from us and replaced by new and alien customs.

We are one people with a common language, a common history and a common culture; and we have a strong sense of solidarity. We base ourselves on previous generations, while we live and work in the present for the coming generations.

Only when we have been granted a safe position legally, socially and economically, can our culture fully develop.

Consequently, we demand:

1. That the Samis are given legal status as an indigenous people.

2. That the customary rights of the Samis to land and water are confirmed by acts of parliament.

3. That the Sami livelihood be protected by laws and regulations.

4. That the Sami language be given status as an official language.

5. That Sami order of society and representative bodies of the Samis be officially recognized so that we have realistic opportunities to debate and make decisions in matters that concern ourselves.

6. That Sami tradition, history, art, knowledge and language be preserved and taught to our descendants through schools and other means.

7. To live in peaceful coexistence with our neighbours, and support and promote world peace, while basing ourselves on our own traditional values.

> This program is entirely in accordance with the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

Sami associations are most active at local level. That is where resistance is greatest. In Canada and elsewhere it has been shown that work at both local/regional level and at national level is needed to make progress. Often the national level is more ready to endorse matters of justice and general progress, while the local level can be intransigent. But equally, solutions to many practical and detailed problems can only be found in local conditions, however much the national level endorses a fine principle. Successful Canadian aboriginal groups have found the national level indispensable in pushing back the economic interests and racial prejudice of entrenched local and regional authority, especially in the Western provinces. Often local whites will take their cues from the centre, and not wishing to appear black reactionaries, or seeing that equality is in vogue, become more amenable to change. In Norway, however, NSR has not maintained the sort of national lobby which would keep Sami issues and viewpoints in front of legislators, journalists, public officials and other bodies and opinion makers. Therefore, Norwegians have not had the long-running education and sensitisation to aboriginal issues which Canadians have had through the media. It is hard to imagine Canada's progress in the last 20 years without that national publicity and attention.

NRL (Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund), is a partial exception to the point about national lobbying. The Norwegian Sami Reindeer Herders Association, as it would be called in English, has had an executive director, a Norwegian philosophy lecturer, who for some years has done a brilliant job of organising influence vis-à-vis official bodies. Intuitively she has done this with all the panache and finesse of the best North American professional lobbyists, although she would not regard such comparison as flattering. (The concepts of lobbying and influence are not well developed in Norway where such things are usually formalised and ritualised. Similarly, Canadians do not think of demonstrations as an automatic way to express displeasure as in Europe, although TV has made demonstrations more popular, and less sincere.) Although intended to represent the Sami culture centred on herding among the Reindeer Sami, NRL has been criticised in recent years for paying much of its attention to purely economic matters. That is its basic function and the reason it is funded: it is the formal body recognised in law through which the Sami herders establish prices and conditions, share in the administration of their industry, and exert pressure for environmental, skidoo and other regulations and policies to go their way. NRL is a very sophisticated organisation in its equipment, operating style, etc. It has just celebrated 40 years.

A growing dissident herders association has developed in recent years. Reindeer herding is a highly competitive life, even in welfare state conditions and with an act of parliament clearing the way. It is full of uncertainties, risks and dangers, as well as constant pressure from outside interests. As may be imagined, an occupation as untidy as moving large numbers of semi-wild animals hundreds of miles back and forth across the country invites conflict with other interests. The fat-cat easy living attributed to Reindeer Sami by some Sea Sami in polemical moments is illusory. If the herders work hard and have no major unpleasant surprises, they make a reasonable living. At any rate, it is not clear how serious is the challenge to NRL. Close commentators believe the issue is more one of personalities and current policy direction than any fundamental or structural problem, in which case it might be easily resolved. It may be, too, that the highly sophisticated NRL has seemed to the men and women around the campfires remote from the lichen roots. Nonetheless, Canadian aboriginal people must consider carefully the experience of NRL. The production and market power of such an organisation, the type of body which land claims negotiators in Canada seem to be seeking, must appear very attractive. Canadian farmers and fishermen organise themselves similarly, and powerfully. If Inuit, Indians and Métis could do the same, they might begin to exert the influence they need to save the Canadian environment for their livelihoods and to provide income stability. On the other hand, some observers point out that having the state move into the heart of an aboriginal culture, bringing its alien apparatus, its power and its ultimate responsibility to others, is threatening. There also can be practical problems. [3]

The third major Sami organisation is more recent, having been created in the era of the Alta River controversy. For the semi-assimilated - or wholly assimilated - and sometimes marginalised population of the Norwegian coasts, and for those Sea Sami with a strong sense of particular interests, SLF, Samenes Landsforbund, meaning simply the Sami National Association, is a home. Unlike NSR, SLF has frequently and publicly opposed Sami rights in general, as well as particular rights. The two main reasons have been that many SLF members fear a backlash from the northern Norwegian community if they appear threatening, and that they resent the rights already gained by Reindeer Sami. At times they have gone to extraordinary lengths to proclaim themselves "good Norwegians". (Chapter 6 below discusses the SLF experience in some detail.)

The Nordic Sami Institute is a three-nation research institute funded by the Nordic Council, located at Kautokeino in Norway. At the moment there is a struggle between the Sami Institute and the University of Tromsö about the best Sami solution to academic research and teaching futures. Anyone who thinks this a simple matter of remote Sami against smug university administrators is quite wrong. The issues and differences are complex. At any rate, the Sami Institute wishes to acquire university status, and some of the Sami working with the University think both bodies have important and different areas in which to contribute. When there is so evident and large a need, and so much of value being done by each institution, it is unfortunate that such problems arise.

The Alta River conflict was a central event for Sami politics. At the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, it polarised Sami (between NSR and SLF), polarised and radicalised an entire generation of North Norwegians and national officials, revealed a very unacceptable face of the expert state, saw massive power used by a reputedly progressive government to eliminate civil disobedience, and brought Sami rights into active, public and national political life. [4] Norway as a whole lost some innocence. At stake was the building of an apparently superfluous hydro-electric dam on the last great salmon river of North Norway, in a canyon of unsurpassed and unique beauty, affecting local species and drowning both essential Sami reindeer pasture and a major community in the absolute core area of Sami life. As protest followed protest, it turned out that the state authorities had been more than a little careless with their "facts" and also that many important subjects had been ignored. Over time the plans were revised downwards to a much more modest scheme, but the economics and need have never been answered and there may be no market for the power generated. But to North Norway's traditional Labour barons, for whom cement and pavement represent work and jobs, the Labour government must act in only one way.[5] SLF joined against the reindeer interests - and for the Labour jobs pitch, and for the assertion of Crown power and Parliament against any opponents. It is little wonder after this long struggle that some NSR activists can hardly refrain from spitting on SLF members. When the state, courts and Parliament failed repeatedly to move the issue, the suspicion of the young and Left increased that the country was run as a very self-satisfied club or even conspiracy of the élite, a not unreasonable view in a country as small, compact and organisationally incestuous as Norway. The authorities, for their part, too quickly resorted to a defence of incompetence, ready to make war where none was needed, and finally sending nearly a thousand police to physically remove a peaceful sit-in after the defence minister, acting sanely and competently, refused troops. Very serious hunger strikes by Sami herders at Parliament and a Sami tent on the Parliamentary lawn, and their forcible removal by police (i.e., large police photographed manhandling small and weakened Sami elders and women), jolted a public which prides itself on sensitivity and peaceful resolution of disputes. The press received masses of ugly and racist anti-Sami mail which, nevertheless, editors had too much taste to print.

The result was a standoff. The prime minister was driven from office, although he first appointed a Sami Rights Committee and a Sami Culture Committee in the hope of defusing tensions. Gro Harlem Brundtland, formerly environment minister, became prime minister. The dignity, integrity and unquestioned authority of government and politics, the citadel which the authorities decided to defend to the last, were replaced in many minds by images of intellectual dishonesty, incompetence, hypocrisy and outright silliness. The image of Norway's environmental excellence was left in doubt, and all for a very dicey project. And one may assume that the old conventional wisdom that a hydro-electric power dam was inherently a good thing, the source of Norway's industrial growth and modern wealth from the end of the 19th century, was no longer so certain.

The Sami and their friends who were involved with Alta, and who were supported by Canadian Inuit and other aboriginal groups, have very mixed feelings about it all. They accomplished nothing, they believe, and the state system was seen to be more self-serving than responsively serving. The determined overriding of dissent alarmed many older persons, too - that the state, presumed to be more decent and flexible than governments elsewhere in the world, would use just as much physical force as it needed to have its own way. As for national officials, many of them were appalled at the bungling by the state, and all of them are quick to say that such a situation could not arise again and that much has been learned. There may be a test - a hydro project at Saltfjell in Nordland is under consideration, and while studies and research concerns mount, and while the national government and politicians handle the matter wisely, northern Labour notables are gung-ho. [6] The northern Labour group which once led the salvation of North Norway and deserves so much credit for all the good things found in the north today, has seemed to become an obstacle to further change and new ideas. Yet it remains the most coherent and powerful force in representing the north in Norway.

Notes

1. These exchanges took place in August-September, 1985, during the controversy over the American icebreaker, Polar Sea, traversing the Northwest Passage.

2. For example, the following explanatory note in "Redesigning Local Government in Norway: An Experiment in Democracy" by Robert Kvavik in Scandinavian Studies, Vol. 56, No. 4, Autumn, 1984, note 4. "For an activist government, as is the case in Norway, it is preferable to rule under a constitution that

permits parliament to redesign local government to improve the latter's performance of nationally mandated tasks. Local self-government is enhanced because of the central government's power to make local governments more responsible to local constituencies. In the absence of a powerful central government, local governments can fall prey to minorities who are able to invoke constitutional arguments to defend an institutional status quo against the political will of regional or national majorities."

3. For this last point, see Georg Henriksen's "Norwegian Administration and the Sami Community in Helgeland" in Native Power: The Quest for Autonomy and Nationhood of Indigenous Peoples, edited by Brösted et al., Universitetsforlaget, Bergen, 1985. This book is distributed in Canada by Oxford University Press. The must reading in English on Sami herding and problems is Robert Paine's Dam a River, Damn a People?, published by International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, Fiolstraede 10, 1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark, June, 1982. Despite its title, the book is a rounded and fascinating work drawing heavily on the classic Norwegian materials by Terje Brantenberg and Ivar Björklund of Tromsö University and Tromsö Museum respectively, both of whom continue to write and who may write some of their future reindeer work in English. Hugo Beach has many titles, especially on Swedish experience. Most rewarding material by Mydrene Anderson, then of the University of Indiana, on human-reindeer symbiosis in the annual round, may not have been published.

4. Paine's Dam..., Damn... book in the preceding footnote deals with the Alta issues. Brantenberg's essay "The Alta-Kautokeino Conflict: Saami Reindeer Herding and Ethnopolitics" in Native Power (see preceding footnote) is essential reading. Another book, Alta bilder/pictures, in Norwegian and English, is a coffee table book of text and photos, particularly appropriate because the Alta campaign was, essentially, a campaign of photographic images which outraged, mobilised and finally exhausted Norway.

5. Some years ago the Canadian TV epic about the building of the CPR (Canadian Pacific Railway) was shown. Northern Labour notables began demanding a national unity railway, too. It would be in Nordland, a place almost too narrow between sea and Sweden for a road bed, an area better supplied with open ports than almost anywhere on earth. A few seasons of construction jobs were worth more to these persons than the obvious war with reindeer, environmental and other interests. This illustrates the dangers of comparative studies.

6. The University of Tromsö historian Henry Minde and anthropologist Trond Thuen have written useful material in English on the role of Labour in North Norway.

The first report of the Sami Rights Committee (Samerettsutvalget) appeared in June, 1984. Later that year an English translation of the summary was released by the Committee for a conference in Copenhagen, and a slightly revised version issued, un-dated, in photo-copy and between red covers, soon after. This last is available from Norwegian embassies. It is this final official version from which the quotations below are taken. (The fact that it was difficult to persuade the Norwegians of the importance of a translation into a world language is surprising. They are used to working in English and know better than most people how intense is world interest in aboriginal rights issues. One hopes they will make future documents available in summary translation from the outset for the benefit of the world community.)

Summary of the First Report from the Norwegian Sami Rights Committee is a translation of the Norwegian summary which is part of the official report itself. The summary deals especially with the great "inner chapter" on aboriginal rights in the world and with the Committee's recommendations, but does not attempt to summarise all the detailed material in the thick report. (A translation of the whole report would be a very valuable contribution to the aboriginal rights question in the world.) The "inner chapter" is supposedly being published in English, although it has been a long time coming. If it is ultimately published, it will be important reading for Canadians.

The Summary explains that "At the request of the Storting [Parliament], the Committee has given priority to the issues of a constitutional provision concerning the legal status of the Sami people and representative bodies for the Sami people." (p. 2) Other reports will follow, the second primarily addressing Sami land and water rights in the northern Sami heartland and a third dealing with Sami rights elsewhere in Norway.

Chapter 1 is an introduction. Chapter 2 discusses the Committee itself and some of the loose ends of its work. Chapter 3 of the report, "The Sami People in Norway", "which has been prepared by the Nordic Sami Institute, contains an account of the Sami people in Norway." (p. 2) Also, Chapter 4, "The Sami People as an Ethnic Group", has been so prepared. By and large Canadian aboriginal bodies have not yet been accepted for such roles contributing to official work. However, the Quebec Inuit collective entity, Makivik, has won various contracts from governments for the supply of research and advice on matters important to Inuit. On the other hand, the Norwegians have not accepted the Canadian precedent of having aboriginal groups negotiate directly on major policy and political matters such as the Constitution, northern self-government, etc. The one exception, NRL, is allowed because in official Norwegian eyes it is an industry lobby like many other such bodies in Norway.

To continue,

> One of the main reasons underlying the claim to special rights and arrangements of the Sami people in Norway is that they belong to a separate ethnic group, a population group. Chapter 4...provides an account of the implications of the Sami people comprising a separate ethnic group. Important factors in this context are family and regional ties, traditional means of livelihood, cultural and religious values and social organizations of a formal and informal nature. For the Sami people to be considered as a separate ethnic group, it is not necessary that the entire group be characterized by all the features, e.g., language and reindeer husbandry. However, the characteristics must overlap so as to create an inner coherence. (p. 3)

Chapter 5 recapitulates the debate within Norway on Sami rights, we are told. Then Chapter 6, "International Law and Municipal Law", begins the substantive material.

The Summary notes that this

> account also indicates that there are limits to what the Norwegian Government is legally entitled to do in relation to the Sami people. They are protected by general rules relating to minorities, as well as by more specific rules in respect of population groups having particular historical and cultural ties to certain territories and primary industries. (p. 4)

This opens a major issue for Canadians. The Norwegians derive much of their thinking about aboriginal rights from international precedents and conventions. This is a political and moral fact, but it is also a difference in Canadian and Norwegian legal systems. Canada cannot escape the issue entirely, however. As a country which takes a proud role in world politics on rights issues, we have nevertheless sometimes hidden behind our federal-provincial division of powers and the lack of immediate legal effect in domestic law of international legal obligations to evade compliance with rights conventions we have signed. When a progressive and wealthy country like Canada resorts to such ruses to dodge commitments, we are setting very damaging precedents for those many countries which do not have Canada's easy means to live up to such ideals. This leaves us deservedly vulnerable to charges of hypocrisy in world bodies. Canada's main aboriginal groups now have a permanent relationship with the federal government in the development of Canada's positions for international human rights work, but already the question of relating internal and external codes of conduct has come to dominate the aboriginal viewpoint in these meetings.

Explaining further, the Summary says

> International law is of importance because it imposes constraints on what the Norwegian government authorities are entitled to do in relation to the Norwegian Sami population, and because it delegates positive obligations to the former vis-à-vis the latter. Municipal law is of importance, partly because it provides solutions that may serve as models in a positive or negative respect, and partly because it contributes to creating binding international law through customary law and general principles of law. (pp. 4-5)

The report carefully distinguishes between general human rights and special minority rights.

> Protection of minorities is generally understood to be rules of law providing special rules (special rights) for a minority as a group (collective rights). The rules of law concerning human rights on the other hand are by and large rules dedsigned to promote the equal treatment (equal rights) of all people (individual rights). This entails an inherent discrepancy. However, at the same time there are important correlations between the protection of minorities and human rights, which is why the protection of human rights has been given so much attention in this study. On the one hand, the demand for equal treatment on the basis of human rights implies a prohibition of negative discrimination (differential treatment) of minorities. On the other, in recent years an injunction has emerged concerning positive discrimination in favour of minorities. Article 27 of the UN International Covenant of 1966 on Civil and Political Rights is the key provision in this respect. (p. 5)

Furthermore,

> ...the protection of human rights is an important stage in the development of the protection of minorities. However, when mention is made of the protection of minorities within the doctrine of human rights, as a rule this only applies to rules concerning positive discrimination. So much progress has been made as regards the Norwegian Sami population that there is no longer need to deal more closely with the abolition of rules of law concerning negative discrimination, but rather the introduction of those relating to positive discrimination. In this respect human rights warrant close scrutiny as long as they contribute to the advancement of such minority protection. (pp. 5-6)

It would be more difficult to characterise the overall Canadian situation. As the Drybones case showed, much discrimination remains in respect of Canadian aboriginal people, but the political reaction of many Indians that their few protections would be lost if all these were repudiated, as in Drybones, led Canadian governments and aboriginal people to seek other paths of resolution.

> With regard to legal policy, minority protection is not primarily a question of providing the minority with a standard of living on a par with that of the majority population. The essence of minority protection is preservation of culture. The minority must be provided with the necessary means to maintain and carry on their culture. It is not enough that the members of a minority are as individuals provided with an adequate standard of living eocnomically speaking. If their distinctive culture is lost, they will cease to be a people. (p. 6)

This is one of the most important points made in the Sami Rights Committee report. The point is followed up (see below) with the view that Article 27 of the convention requires governments to ensure to aboriginal peoples the physical resource base upon which traditional cultures are founded.

As for one red herring upon which much effort is consumed in some Canadian forums,

> As regards the Norwegian Government's exercise of sovereignty over the Sami areas of settlement and traditional use, this has certain similarities to more ordinary colonialization, although there are differences as well. Whether one chooses to characterize it as colonialization is a matter of opinion. Such a definition does not in itself provide an answer to any legal questions. (pp. 6-7)

Attention is given to the Lapp Codicil of the 1751 boundary treaty between Sweden and Norway (Denmark). That document combines elements of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Jay Treaty of 1794 and the western Canada Indian treaties. It has been much neglected but research in recent years is focussing on its many key points, and it could have a decisive role in the big questions still facing the Sami Rights Committee in respect of northern land and water use and aboriginal rights. The report points out that even if the Codicil is interpreted so as to deny land rights, "a negative conclusion does not exclude the possibility of the Sami people acquiring a title to land on some other basis than the codicil." (p. 7) This seems to hold out the hope that the Committee will eventually propose some form of aboriginal land rights, and indeed, the next sentence promises that the subject will be examined in further reports. Those further reports are expected to be the truly explosive ones.

Going on, the Committee notes the belief of some that the Codicil as a boundary treaty only confers rights, limited rights, on Norwegian Lapps in Sweden and Swedish Lapps in Norway - in other words, trans-boundary rights. But "The report concludes, in part contrary to prior Norwegian interpretation, that the codicil also applies in principle to Norwegian Sami people in Norway." (p. 8) This could be significant, because

> The entire codicil provides such a comprehensive set of special rules for the Sami people that the report discusses whether there is a basis for speaking of a separate Sami system of law. The codicil does not authorize any form of independent self-government. However, a set of rules of law was approved which cut across national borders. These were largely of Sami origin, and embraced such a great part of the Sami way of life, at least of those involved in reindeer husbandry, that the Sami people to all intents and purposes had a form of internal self-government. (p. 8)

The report goes on to say that those Norwegians who believe the implications of this and other documents to be finally lapsed are wrong and that the Sami continue to have international rights. Canadian governments may be able to save much grief if, as they now seem ready to do, they can work out arrangements for Inuit and Dene interests across Canada-Alaska and Canada-Greenland frontiers in respect of traditional pursuits and contacts.

The report also notes that the Sami have a legal basis for rights to land quite aside from the codicil, "an independent legal basis in the general since time immemorial." (p. 9)

Other minority situations, e.g. Greenland, are canvassed and the history of minority rights under the League of Nations. In the New World we sometimes forget that despite the horrors visited upon each other by the nationalities in Europe, not least in the 20th Century, there is also a body of more positive precedent. The report notes, however, that after World War II,

> From the very outset, the UN rejected the special measures instituted to protect minorities - except for some special organizations, particularly ILO and UNESCO - referring instead to the general protection of individual human rights, which was also intended to meet the legitimate needs of the minorities. Along with this, a considerable extension of the apparatus for the promotion and protection of minorities took place through the ratification in the UN in 1966 of three conventions: the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the two "twin-conventions" concerning human rights, the

> International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In these conventions the UN reinstated the special promotion and protection of minorities as an integral part of the entire system of human rights. (pp. 11-12)

Specifically,

> The principal provision pertaining to the protection of minorities in the set of conventions is Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The provision reads as follows: "In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the rights, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language." (p. 12)

Casting its eye over the scene, the Committee concludes,

> Meanwhile, a considerable number of minority treaties and systems protecting minorities under domestic law have come into being in Europe. Together, these have set up a "minimum standard" for the recognition of ethnic minorities in our part of the world and for the protection of their culture. The question is whether the legal material is so comprehensive that it constitutes a basis for the creation of international law in Western Europe that is binding upon all the countries in the region. (pp. 12-13)

It is popular for Canadian lawyers and officials to dismiss this sort of thinking, and even to deny the usefulness of such international law itself. But Norway is at the centre of the world movement towards a covenant on aboriginal rights and codes of conduct related, and has been playing an activist role effectively for many years. This work is now proceeding steadily. [1] And some lessons are being learned for home consumption, e.g.,

> As regards the Norwegian assimilation policy, particularly as it was practised in the area of linguistics, this policy was at sharp variance with the League of Nations' legal system for the protection of minorities in the interwar period. Regardless of the motives of this Norwegian policy - considerations of the Sami people's own development, Norwegian security considerations in the North, or other considerations - it meant that Norwegian law was completely out of step with international law and developments. (p.13)

Post-war, some catching up was done, but now

> ...the demands in international law have been intensified considerably. A requirement is now being formulated concerning positive special advantages for ethnic minorities to the extent necessary to enable them to preserve and enjoy their own culture. (p. 13)

Overall,

> If we compare the legal status of the Sami people in Norway with the various systems for minorities in Europe, we do not emerge as a pioneering nation as regards the positive protection of minorities. Our legislation does contain positive special measures in certain areas. Particular mention may be made of the fact that reindeer husbandry is a privilege of the Sami population. However, the Sami people have not received any fundamental legal recognition in our public administration. Neither have we formulated any more comprehensive minority legislation within wider fields of law in relation to the Sami people. (p. 13)

When the Committee turns to the right of peoples to self-determination it is very useful. This area and those words have created so much paperwork and engendered so many false hopes, to little effect, that a clear discussion is most useful.

> The principle of the right of all peoples to self-determination...was...the basis of the League of Nations' legal system for the protection of minorities. This principle has deep historical roots as a political ideology. This ideology was further reinforced as a result of the Second World War. However, in the early days of the UN, the principle was interpreted in such a way that the right of minorities to self-determination was no longer the focus. It was the nations' demand for sovereign rights and freedom from territorial change that came to the forefront. Where reference is made to the equal rights and right of self-determination of all peoples in Articles 1 and 55 of the UN Charter, on the basis of the preliminary work and other interpretive material this does not constitute a minority right that can provide backing for any form of Sami autonomy or other Sami rights within the Norwegian State. (p. 14)

The Committee has one slight qualification, however:

> As a political principle, the idea of self-determination is still the mainstay of the developments taking place around Europe - and in the rest of the world - aimed at providing the minorities with better protection. (p. 15-16)

Getting to the heart of the problem,

> The question is, however, whether an ethnic minority within an established nation state is embraced by the concept "peoples" as it is used in this context. There is no doubt that an ethnic minority such as the Sami population comprises a people in a political and sociological sense. However, the preliminary work for Article 1 in the two conventions indicates that these provisions were not intended to provide any minority rights. (p. 15)

Rather, Article 27 (as quoted above) provides such rights. All subsequent interpretation of Article 1 bears this out. "Neither does the Helsinki Agreement of 1975 go further than the UN conventions of 1966 as regards the protection of minorities." (p. 15)

> Thus, the Sami minority in Norway cannot invoke any of the principles of the right of self-determination of all peoples as they are formulated in current conventions. In this respect, the position of the Sami people is quite different from that of the Inuit population in Greenland - where the area and its population are distinctly separate, geographically, historically and culturally, from the "mother country", and where the area has, moreover, for many years had the explicit status of a colony - even though there are points of resemblance between the Sami and the Inuits [sic] in other respects. Meanwhile, it may be maintained that Article 1 supports a broad interpretation of Article 27, so that the latter, through the wording "enjoy their own culture", authorizes a certain inner autonomy in the cultural sector of community life. (p. 15)

To carry on with the meaning of Article 27,

> There is no doubt about the fact that Article 27 authorizes a claim to positive discrimination. ... According to Article 27, how far a state has to go in the direction of positive discrimination will depend on the actual conditions in the state in question. The minority is entitled to "enjoy their own culture".
>
> It is more doubtful whether the provision merely grants the minority an immunity from encroachment (a negative right), or demands active support (a positive right) as well. When the provision was drawn up, it was only intended to ensure minorities the right to exist in peace, i.e. protection against assimilation. However, after the convention was adopted, the conception seemed to move towards a broader interpretation. According to a special report within the UN, for example, the right of minorities to preserve their own culture would be completely meaningless if the governments failed to back them up. The conclusion of our report is that Article 27 probably imposes an obligation on

> the various states to provide economic support to enable the minority groups virtually to use their own language and other aspects of their culture. As regards quantification of this obligation, it should be presumed that the states are under an obligation to implement measures whereby a reasonable degree of equality is attained with regard to allowing a minority to enjoy its own culture in relation to the rest of society. (pp. 16-17)

The Committee turns to the more detailed question of what constitutes culture.

> The culture of the so-called "indigenous peoples" is especially strongly linked to a traditional utilization of natural resources. The protection of indigenous peoples goes way back in history. Moreover, in modern times a considerable, positive body of legal material exists, both in the form of international treaties and as domestic legislation in many countries. This need for protection has also been reflected in several other international documents of recent years, which are discussed. The report concludes that this material may justifiably be taken into consideration in the interpretation of Article 27.
>
> According to usual principles of interpretation, the provision should be interpreted in keeping with its intention. The intention of the Article is the preservation of culture. This means that the individual ethnic minority should be able to demand the material basis necessary for it to enjoy its own culture. Conditions may vary considerably from minority to minority in this respect. When a particular ethnic minority has need of a special cultural basis, and when the minority loses this basis, then it also loses any real possibility of enjoying its own culture. In such a case, it would be illusory to maintain that this minority still has the "right" to enjoy its own culture. In that event this would be a right without sufficiently real substance.
>
> . . .
>
> Accordingly, the report concludes that there are good grounds for interpreting the concept of "culture" so widely that the marterial basis for the culture of an ethnic minority is also covered by the provision. In that case, means of livelihood and other economic conditions should be included to the extent to which they are decisive to whether this population group is able to maintain and carry on a distinctive culture. (pp. 18-19)

However, while Article 27 requires much in the way of "material prerequisites", "the provision does not authorize full economic autonomy." (pp. 19-20)

This is not a limitation, it should be noted, on any proposal by Canadian aboriginal people, none of whom have proposed total economic or political separatism.

Recapitulating in terms which seem as relevant to the aboriginal peoples of the northern areas of Canada, all of whom carry on some or all of traditional cultures in traditional territories,

> The Sami people are unquestionably an ethnic group whose culture is protected according to Article 27. Therefore, they are entitled to the support of the Norwegian State in their enjoyment of their own culture. At the same time, the Sami people comprise an ethnic group whose cultural basis lies largely in a traditional utilization of natural resources. Therefore, it is highly likely that their traditional forms of economic activity are also protected to a certain extent by Article 27. It is, however, hardly possible to define the scope of such protection with any precision today.
>
> ...
>
> At present efforts are being made in various international agencies to improve the circumstances of the minorities and indigenous populations, so that the rules of law comply more closely with the actual needs of these population groups. This effort is based on the view that current rules of international law, including Article 27, do not go far enough. (p. 20)

Moving on to other subjects, the Committee has a useful comment on affirmative action based on the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1966.

> As regards positive discrimination, the convention may be invoked to support the use of such differential treatment to bring the overall situation of the Sami population - particularly in the area of culture - up to the same real level as that of other Norwegian nationals. The extent to which positive special treatment of the Sami people can be continued after this level has been reached is somewhat unclear. In this respect the relationship to the majority population is not what causes problems in a country with a democratic government, but the relationship to other ethnic groups. (p. 21)

Discussing special indigenous rights, the Committee admits the difficulty of sources, and canvasses the experience of the Spanish, Portuguese, British and French colonial powers, as well as the USA, Canada, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand.

> Nonetheless, it is hardly possible to summarize the sources of law in legal rules about which there would be general agreement. ...[I]n particular, there has been a tremendous

> difference between theory and practice in the various states' treatment of their indigenous populations.
>
> The historical facts make it difficult to ascertain that any international customary law in respect of indigenous peoples has been created. Nonetheless, in the literature on international law, it is presumed in part that developments have gone so far that certain principles of international law may be presumed to be established on the basis of customary law. Thus, it is maintained that the responsibility of a state for the indigenous peoples inhabiting its territory (the "doctrine of guardianship") has already been explicitly laid down through international customary law. It is claimed that this is an obligation to facilitate the cultural development of the indigenous peoples, and to administer their areas of settlement and use for their own good, all of this in view of their customary societal structure and use of the areas.
>
> There are many indications, however, that indigenous rights may have a firmer basis as part of "the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations." For the states are not only bound by treaties and customary law, but also, according to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, by such basic principles of law.
>
> Even though practice has not established customary law, or has only done so to a limited extent, the comprehensive body of legal material concerning the protection of indigenous peoples probably indicates that we are here dealing with general principles of law that are recognized by civilized nations. The legal material reveals that the rules have been formulated differently in the various countries, according to the actual and historical circumstances. However, a number of different national bodies of rules have in common the fact that the indigenous populations have their own institutions, that they are entitled to a voice in questions of particular concern to them, and that the natural resources of the population group in question are to be administered in such a way that they will continue to serve as a basis for the group's future existence as a people. It must be acknowledged at the same time, however, that the degree to which the various states are obligated on this basis is uncertain. (pp. 23-24)

The concept of "indigenous peoples" itself causes problems, especially in a country like Norway where the national majority have been present as long as anyone can know.

> The key elements characterizing an indigenous people are that it is a population group with historical continuity in relation to all or part of the present territory of a nation

> state from before this territory was placed under the sovereignty of the state (i.e. without it necessarily being the "original" population), that the population constitutes a minority in the state (or that it is not politically dominant for other reasons), that it has its own culture, and that this culture is still particularly closely linked to traditional primary industries. (p. 25)

One of the most important items in the Sami Rights Committee work is the view of Norway's obligations in its role as government of the area which includes a significant aboriginal homeland.

> The Norwegian State is obligated under international law to implement positive special measures (positive discrimination) in respect of the Norwegian Sami people to the extent to which this is necessary to ensure that the Sami culture is continued in this country.
>
> There is a great deal to be said for this obligation applying not only to ideal forms of cultural expression, but tothe material cultural basis as well. That is to say that the Norwegian State is responsible for ensuring that the traditional Sami means of livelihood have an adequate natural and economic basis so that the Sami culture can be carried on.
>
> ... It is also essential that the sum of the decisions made by the Norwegian authorities gives the Sami population the opportunity to safeguard and develop their own culture. Only time will tell whether the authorities are doing enough in this respect.
>
> ...
>
> Norway has previously, and particularly in the interwar period, been way out of step with international legislative developments as regards the protection of the culture of minorities. The result of this is that the Sami culture is less widespread and more vulnerable today than would have been the case had Norway followed the guidelines concerning minorities that were drawn up in the League of Nations. This makes it especially important for the Norwegian authorities to take an active part now in ensuring that the Norwegian Sami people are allowed to "enjoy", i.e. to safeguard and develop "their own culture", to quote the human rights covenant on civil and political rights. (pp 26-27)

When the Committee moves on to its overall view and recommendations, it well expresses several points.

> ...[W]hile the Sami people constitute a separate ethnic group, it is also a fact that the Sami population in Norway are Norwegian nationals, and thereby part of the community

> comprised by the population of Norway. Furthermore, as working people, members of organizations and parishes, inhabitants of outlying districts, consumers and in many other connections, the individual Sami people to a greater or lesser degree have interests in common with other population groups in Norway that cut across ethnic boundaries. The special ethnic common interests are manifested to varying degrees in different types of matters. Thus, the extent to which the authorities should take ethnic considerations into account in their policy vis-à-vis the Sami people will vary from matter to matter. (p. 29)

Again,

> ...[T]he authorities should take into account the fact that there are different groups within the Sami population which have different needs and, in some respects, conflicting interests as well. If the authorities' Sami policy measures are aimed exclusively at certain selected groups of Sami people, this may contribute to an impairment and gradual obliteration of the feeling of ethnic identity in the other Sami groups. This may in turn entail a gradual reduction of the diversity that characterizes the Sami community today. (p. 30)

The report stresses that the aim is not to

> "freeze" the Sami culture at a particular stage of development. On the contrary, the authorities' resoponsibility has to be to facilitate the maintenance and further development of the Sami cultural community in conformity with the demands of modern society. (p. 30)

They are also clear that the responsibility, and costs, are national.

> It is imperative that the maintenance and further development of Sami culture in Norway be a national task and a national responsibility. The financial burdens entailed by the special Sami policy measures called for by this objective should be borne first of all by the State, not by the individual municipality or county. (p. 30)

The Committee sees that Sami must make their own decisions, "in keeping with generally recognized principles of local democracy and individual self-determination" (p. 32), an ironic point for a committee determining the Sami future with only a small percentage of its members themselves Sami.

A particularly thought-provoking point relates to Sami as a multi-national population.

> The Committee would like to point out that the national subsidies and measures vis-à-vis the Sami people should also be planned with a view to enabling them to improve their cooperation across national boundaries. (p. 32)
>
> Sami policy is an area that is well suited for joint talks between the authorities in the countries concerned. However, it should also be pointed out that the conditions in this area in the various countries often vary a good deal. In all likelihood the attainment of solutions that are identical in every detail to questions concerning Sami rights within the various countries is an unrealistic goal. However, it is valuable that the more general attitudes held by the authorities if the different countries, out of which the concrete measures arise, are as identical as possible. (p. 32)

It is interesting to consider how fruitful might be a meeting of the current Alaskan, Yukon and NWT governments and the main aboriginal groups to talk over experience and future directions. It is worth stressing here that Finland, Sweden and Norway, although members of the Nordic Council, have very different histories and perspectives. The fact that they have developed habits of cooperation and coordination in the north is a hard-earned accomplishment, not a reflex action. A major Canadian get-together with Greenland to discuss Inuit administration and self-government is long overdue.

The Committee wrestles at length with the desirability and content of a constitutional recognition of Sami and national obligations towards them. The terms of this debate are all too familiar to Canadians, but are now in our past. The Committee notes that one factor which places the Sami in a particular position vis-à-vis Norway and recommends constitutional recognition, unlike other minorities, is that

> the entire Sami culture is extremely dependent on the treatment it receives at the hands of Norwegian authorities. (p. 43)

This point was not made, it seems, during the 1978-87 Canadian aboriginal-constitutional history, although government dependency is even more relevant to Canadian aboriginal people than to Sami.

The clause recommended for addition to the Constitution reads

> "It is incumbent on the government authorities to take the necessary steps to enable the Sami population to safeguard and develop their language, their culture and their societal life." (p. 46)

Much time and energy is devoted by the Committee to the method of choosing a national representative Sami body. The then existing Norwegian Sami Council was to be replaced and the Committee was to recommend on this. Half the seats were to go to Finnmark and a quarter to Troms, with Nordland receiving less, the southern Sami areas a few and, in most proposals, urban southern Sami (mostly in Oslo) would have three seats of 36-42 total. The bitter battle over the method of election was really symbolic of the three opinions in the northern community - that Sami should have no such body; that if they must, it should be chosen by existing county and local bodies (with largely non-Sami membership); and that it should be directly elected by Sami. The final viewpoint won out, out of consideration for democratic practice.

The Sami parliament (Sameting) will be advisory for now, but the second report of the Committee is to enlarge on the powers question, recommending some decision-making powers, perhaps in relation to Sami territory. However, as Sami Rights Committee chairman Carsten Smith is quick to point out, the Sami parliament will be able to discuss anything it wishes and recommend as it wishes, so it can recommend increases of power to the Storting to which it is to be formally related. It will also receive references for advice from the administration and the Storting, and will administer certain budgets.

Not surprisingly many Sami leaders are distressed by such a powerless body. Carsten Smith has felt unfairly criticised because he was ordered by the government to consider this body first but only as advisory. The first years may tell the tale. All other things being equal, such a body should quickly "attract business", just as the aboriginal organisations in Canada became a reference point for government policy advice. If the body is credible and moderate, it should be able to build its status quickly. If it is able to shape and lead consensus within the Sami community, the most urgent need of Sami today, it will have to be taken into account by government. But if it is simply a forum for wrangling, or for the tired dogmas of northern party hacks - and the parties are trying to take it over - then it will fail. Those who wish it to fail will not be rewarded, however, because such failure would simply result in radicalisation of the Sami rights movement and a loss of credibility for the government (and for the parties responsible for the foot-dragging which led to such a half-hearted forum being created). At the moment it is difficult to see dynamics for consensus within the Sami movement sufficient to enable the Sami parliament to succeed.

The Sami parliament is intended to keep Sami policy alive. It is intended that policy be better coordinated within government as well, but in the early stages those Sami involved have given no attention to administrative or coordination questions related to their new parliament. As experience shows, the executive and secretariat functions can determine the usefulness of a deliberative body as much as good intentions of those in the deliberative chamber itself.

The Sami Rights Committee is an amazing triumph, at least in its first report. Its composition of all interested actors was intended to take the political heat off a prime minister (who failed and was replaced in that heat). But that might have guaranteed immobility. The first report was delayed many times, but even cynics close to the process were impressed by the extent of Chairman Smith's achievement. [2] That is was very much a personal achievement is evident. Professor Carsten Smith is gentle, quiet, thoughtful and patient, and managed to impose his personality on a rowdy lot and extract a wide area of essential agreement from them. This was a victory for Sami interests in itself because discord would have enabled the government and parties to chuck the Sami issue aside as in times past. That Professor Smith and his legal advisers were able to move so far forward in a very touchy area was remarkable. Whether it will be enough, remains to be seen. The big disadvantage of Norway vis-à-vis Canada is that Norway does not have strong, public relations oriented aboriginal lobbies keeping aboriginal issues before public, press and government, nor has Norway had 25 years of public debate on these issues. The need "to make haste slowly" will be a considerable challenge.

***

For Canadians, the report of the Sami Rights Committee is full of arguments and ideas which are directly relevant to Canadian debates. They may provide governments and aboriginal groups with some useful precedents.

The concept of an aboriginal assembly or parliament with a relationship to Parliament could provide a continuing focus for aboriginal concerns, for instance, and have undisputed authority. Although it has been assumed that aboriginal governments will participate in Canada's executive federalism through inter-governmental arangements, these venues have their difficulties, as the recent national constitutional negotiations proved. Furthermore, a general system or patchwork of aboriginal government within Canada, whether through new northern territories, enhanced Indian band governments, self-governing Métis settlements or regional authorities in provincial hinterlands, seems far enough away that important aboriginal concerns about development, environment, cultural maintenance and education may not wait. In Australia an elected system of aboriginal affairs department supervision is now being legislated by the national Parliament. If the Australian management scheme and the Norwegian Sami parliament scheme were put together, providing an aboriginal authority with clout, resources, responsibility and the moral authority of an elected body, it would be a major step. (This concept may be equally relevant for study by Norwegians, Canadians and Australians. Nor would it preclude ultimate aboriginal self-government in various regions and locales, but might help prepare the ground for that more effectively.)

The Sami Rights Committee work is especially valuable to Canadians because it takes us back to first principles. It also reminds us that there are facts more essential and more obvious in the world than our own particular administrative history. Because our own past experience did not work, we should examine other options with open minds.

Notes

1. Two very helpful pieces in this regard are found in Native Power: The Quest for Autonomy and Nationhood of Indigenous Peoples, edited by Brösted, et al., Universitetsforlaget (Norwegian Universities Press), Bergen-Oslo-Stavanger-Tromsö, 1985. These are Knut Sverre's "Indigenous Populations and Human Rights: The International Problem from a Nordic Point of View", and Asbjörn Eide's "Indigenous Populations and Human Rights: The United Nations Efforts at Mid-way". Both Knut Sverre and Asbjörn Eide are highly respected in Norway for their personal careers in the international diplomacy of human rights, and their effective work and strong commitment to the cause of aboriginal people world-wide. A particularly useful snapshot of the evolving work on an international convention may be found in the IWGIA Yearbook, 1986: Indigenous Peoples and Human Rights, edited by Andrew Gray, International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, Fiolstraede 10, 1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark, January, 1987 - in the article "International: Native Peoples Rights" by Erica-Irene Daes, Chairperson of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations and Chairperson of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

2. Another presentation of the Sami Rights Committee report is the Chairman's discussion of it, written in English, as "The Sami Rights Committee: An Exposition", by Carsten Smith, in Self Determination and Indigenous Peoples: Sami Rights and Northern Perspectives, International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, Copenhagen, March, 1987. The paper was given in late 1984 at a workshop in Copenhagen, and Carsten Smith's talk was vigorously debated by Sami representative, Vigdis Stordahl. Ms. Stordahl's paper, "Samithing [trans. Sami parliament] and Sami Committees - A Useful Political and Administrative Solution for the Sami in Norway?", is found next in the same volume and should be read. At the actual public gathering, the debate was hot and heavy at

times. Another important document, not yet translated into English, is the critique of the Sami Rights Committee report by leading Norwegian social anthropologists, including Harald Eidheim, Per Mathiesen and Georg Henriksen, published within a year of the report's appearance.

5 - SAMI CULTURE COMMITTEE REPORT

Whereas the Sami Rights Committee is visibly a "political" committee, made up of the varied and conflicting interests of northern society, the Sami Culture Committee (Samekulturutvalget) is an "expert" committee, made up of prominent Sami and scholars expert in Sami society and culture. This implies that "culture" is considered a safe area for development whereas the issue of political and constitutional status is still to be arbitrated by the many Norwegian interests which might feel bruised by Sami resurgence. The fact that both Committees have delivered exceptionally useful and progressive first reports is to their credit, as is their discovery that political and legal issues must focus on the requirements of culture, and that the protection and promotion of culture requires action in the constitutional and political areas.

Sami culture is not visible to most Norwegians. The Sami are not physically different from Norwegians, so unless they speak the Sami language or wear traditional Sami dress, they pass for "ordinary" Norwegians. Some Sami have been glad of this ability to hide their Saminess, but today many are reconsidering. Most dramatic are those "Norwegian" communities along the coast which are suddenly declaring themselves "Sami" in a proud recovery of their heritage.

The Sami Culture Committee reported in June, 1985. Although a synopsis of its findings was telexed to a federal-provincial-aboriginal conference in progress in Ottawa at the time, this apparently played no part in discussions which were already choking on unresolved problems. Later, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference approached the Office of Aboriginal Constitutional Affairs in the Federal-Provincial Relations Office, Ottawa, with the Norwegian document's official summary and that office had it translated. The quotations here are taken from this government translation circulated in September, 1985, by the ICC.

The report finds that until about 1700, mission and other cultural activities generated from outside the Sami homeland had little impact, but from the early 1700s this changed with a more determined and organised church and school policy.

> The mission became an important tool in the struggle for parts of the jointly held areas in Northern Scandinavia and thereby in the struggle for which state the Lapps should belong to. (p. 3)

Significantly, the first real missionary organiser was denigrated and finally overcome in his policy of having Sami language missions. The hard-line determination that the Dano-Norwegian language be imposed characterised many of the church authorities and, therefore, policy and practice. Policy and practice see-sawed back and forth.

> The Norwegianizing policy was re-confirmed towards the end of the 1800s and became the official cultural and educational policy towards Lapps and Kvens, in any case up to the Second World War. The policy was, in this period characterized by continuity and attempts consequently to implement it independently of changes in the régime and changes in cultural directions in Europe. Elements of Norwegianization characterized the development in most sectors of society and played an important role in priorizing measures, not only in education and church matters, but also within industrial, defence, communication, business and and trade policies. (p. 6)

It is suggested that the large influx of Kvens, or northern Finns, may have been partially responsible for Norway's particularly determined Norwegianisation efforts in the earlier 20th century, as an aspect of security policy. Also, "social-darwinistic evaluations" had their effect on "public mobilization" for Norwegianisation. (p. 6) Post-war policy was more liberal because of changing social values in Norwegian society and "in changing views on the security policy in the north" where first the Nazi Germans and then the Soviets were present and "in the closer ties of the Lapps (and Kvens) to the Norwegian cultural society". (p. 7) A school commission in 1948 proposed greater respect for Sami culture and values, and some few practical measures followed. Sedentary Sami large resisted or ignored the new possibilities because they feared Sami-ness would hamper acquisition of Norwegian social and economic benefits in the great post-war rebuilding of Finnmark (which had been razed by the German armies). Nomadic (reindeer herding) Sami were generally positive. In reality many suggestions of the schools study simply lapsed for lack of Sami followup.

In 1959 another committee reported broadly on Sami problems. Its approach was that Sami should be integrated in terms of social benefits but have special arrangements to preserve minority culture. Many people accused the report's authors of favouring reserves. Parliament (the Storting) broadly supported the new approach in May, 1963, and scattered actions have generally been positive, i.e.,

> developments have moved in the direction of greater efforts on specific sectors such as the school system, higher education and research, the social and health sectors, protection of culture and work in various aspects of art and culture. Also the general objectives and goals for culture and education have strengthened the protection of Lapp culture. (p. 9)

Economic improvements have helped "narrow the cultural gap between the Lapps and the rest of the population", and this together with "the results of negative cultural policies followed in the past" requires new thinking about what constitutes Saminess, i.e., that it is more than traditional habits and styles. (p. 10)

In Norway as in Canada, many people assume that being a Sami or an Inuk is a matter of dress or diet or language, and that if one would only abandon these relics, one would, presto, be a Mainstream Canadian or Mainstream Norwegian. The Norwegian social anthropologists have been particularly helpful in following their elder, Frederik Barth, in his work on cultural boundaries and boundary maintenance. Ethnic and social groups find many reasons for preserving collective identity, and find new ways in which to assert identity, regardless of what outsiders may think. Complex and ancient societies like Inuit and Sami have a great many values and traditions which may be quite invisible to outsiders, just as settlers in North America imagined that because the Indians did not build in stone they had merely ad hoc, temporary and fleeting societies. Cultural persistence, and the total ignorance and/or misunderstanding of that issue in official circles, is probably the largest single problem in aboriginal and minority policies around the world today.

The report brings matters up to date.

> The many unsolved questions that were focussed especially during the Alta conflict, exposed the need for a new evaluation of the total situation of the Lapps in Norway.
>
> Appointment of the Lapp Culture Committee and the Lapp Rights Committee (1980), both with broad mandates, must be considered to be a result of this need. (p. 11)

The report surveys progress in recent decades.

> Courses in beginning Lappish have been available at a number of schools after 1967, and the right to be taught in Lappish both as a first or second language for children in Lapp districts was passed as law in 1975. Parents in mixed language districts also have the right to demand their own school districts for their children. (p. 12)

Teaching materials in Samisk have been developed and Sami secondary schools established at Karasjok and Kautokeino. As well, Sami studies have become of more interest "in higher educational and research institutions". (p. 13) Creation in 1976 of a Lapp Educational Board has also helped. Sami broadcasting and print media, a library service, Sami museums and cultural centres, and research and information activities have all helped. Sami handicrafts have been assisted in a variety of ways, including teaching as a school subject. The growth and state support of Sami organisations [albeit limited by Canadian standards], and the three-country Nordic Sami Institute and Nordic Sami Council have been especially important in principle. (p. 14)

On ethnicity, the report finds, like the Sami Rights Committee report, that "the existence of an overall cultural identity is not...dependent on all the distinguishing marks covering the whole group" (p. 15), but that some overlap of traits such as "family belonging, area belonging, working traditions, cultural values, religious values and social organization" provides an inner coherence. (p. 15)

The importance of certain occupations to Sami identity is stressed - "Farming, fishing, other income from outlying fields, duodji [Sami handicrafts] and reindeer herding". (p. 16) As well,

> The organizational life and the relatively many Lapp activities both in more general contexts and within special interest groups such as art, sports, information work, etc. show that the Lapps are occupied with creating a visible framework for displaying their distinctive cultural character in today's society. The general increase in appreciation of Lapp cultural life in postwar years has here contributed to Lapp activities. (p. 16)

However,

> Several traits in the minority situation of the Lapps contribute to weakening Lapp identity and to split the Lapp population. (p. 16)

Nevertheless,

> ...the Lapps identify themselves to a large extent as a separate people and are also so considered by others. This represents an important basis for a separate Lapp cultural and educational policy. (p. 16)

However, the ubiquity of the welfare state and the tendency to view difficulties or divergences as under-privilege result in policy attitudes which have eroded Sami self-esteem and culture. (This problem of seeing aboriginal difference as a welfare need to be redressed by more Mainstream goods and benefits has not been typical only of Norway, of course.) Sami interests are defined and constrained by decision-making bodies, and so the Sami Rights Committee is especially important because it can recommend on how to re-organise the political relations between Sami and Norwegians. (p. 17) [The translation is particularly muddy here, hence this rephrased summary rather than direct quotation.]

Finally,

> While Lapps earlier tied their identity to a simple lifestyle based on primary economic environments, knowledge and skills associated with modern society are no longer in an automatic antagonistic situation to Lapp skills and knowledge. Most Lapps must probably take a position on how they can combine a life in the national community with the framework formed by their own Lapp traditions.
>
> There are great variations in the cultural adaptation of Lapps. The same also applies to their cultural skills. Limited opportunities for the Lapps to identify with each other through one set of common symbols hinder the development of a common Lapp feeling of solidarity and togetherness. (p. 17)

The report reviews documents and statements of policy, according to the summary, and finds that

> While the economic and social conditions were in the foreground in the first postwar years, the respect for the intrinsic value of Lapp culture has been expressed more clearly in the past few years.
>
> Implementation of the objectives has, however, created certain problems. The lack of a central initiating and coordinating body is probably a part of the explanation in addition to some lack of political will and consciousness, perhaps especially locally. The Lapps also needed a "ripening" period before the damands for minority rights gathered broad support. (p. 19)

The report concludes this section by noting the many advances in international law and practice in respect of minorities.

Now the Committee begins to expound its own fundamental positions.

> Lapp settlements were established in Norway before the Norwegian state was formed. Lapp culture therefore has original rights in Norway. Lapps and Norwegians must according to this, be considered as two peoples, and the language and culture of the Lapps have the same demands for protection and development possibilities as Norwegian language and culture. (p. 21)

That is probably the most important paragraph in the Sami Culture Committee report. The same logic would apply in Canada to Inuit and Indian peoples and Métis descendants.

> Official efforts towards Lappish culture must be based on objectives and goals with basis in the facts that there is a real danger that Lappish culture can disappear as a part of the total cultural picture in Norway, the Nordic countries and the world as a whole. Norway has here a special international responsibility. (p. 22)

This argument may not be so clear in Canada, although presumably the fact that Soviet, Alaskan and Greenlandic Inuit survive does not mean Canada can ignore its vast Inuit homeland. But interestingly, in the Inuit Circumpolar Conference the Canadian Inuit are seen as especially important by Inuit abroad because the group most in touch with the ancient traditions and ways of their people.

> The cultural and educational policies must take aim at protecting and further developing the Lappish cultural elements that still live in the Lapp areas that have retained their traditional distinctive identity. Also, Lapps that have lost contact with their traditional values must have an opportunity to become familiar with, and regain their confidence in, Lappish culture. (p. 22) [Because of rapid retyping of the translation, there are small errors in the text which these quotations sometimes correct.]

As for the future,

> The Lapps have the right to keep their language, social environments and other fundamental factors that form the background for a distinctive Lapp identity.
>
> It is therefore necessary:
>
> 1. to protect the occupations which anchor Lappish culture traditionally; and
>
> 2. to make Lapp cultural expressions capable of living in modern society. (p. 22)

As for government responsibilities,

> The Lappish environment must be secured an economic base in society which will strengthen the settlements [communities]. Official objectives and goals for protecting Lappish language and culture must be followed up by having schools, mass media and other public bodies given more responsibility than previously in implementation.

> A living Lappish cultural life is dependent on a group of people feeling an ethnic and cultural boundary relative to the majority of the population. Concrete measures that strengthen the cultural and ethnic feeling of identity are therefore necessary. It is especially necessary in Norway which has most of the Lappish people in the Nordic countries.
>
> The differing attitudes of the Lapps towards their own future reflect the various circumstances the Lapps have had in order to keep their distinctive cultural characteristics. These must be considered as attempts to find a balance between attachment to their own culture and adpatation to the larger society.
>
> Lappish and Norwegian cultures must be considered as equals. Individuals and groups must have an opportunity to develop both from traditional and practical needs. The rights to preserve contact with one's own cultural elements must be linked to the Lapps which is a further development of the concept Lappish-speaking people. (pp 22-23)

Without going into a profound and emotional subject, one may note the tradition of the Norwegian bureaucracy in referring to Sami as "Sami-speaking Norwegians", a bitter touchstone issue among Sami activists. The point made in the text here is that Sami are Sami, not simply Norwegians with a difference, and that as such they deserve equal rights as a people.

Furthermore, Sami culture must be more organised and coherent in Norwegian life, and Sami themselves must be in charge of their own cultural and educational policies. (p. 23, last paragraph) [rephrasing here preferred again]

But,

> It is a national responsibility to maintain and further develop Lappish culture.
>
> The responsibility of the authorities is on the legislative and economic [financial] level, while the formulation of objectives and practical administration to the greatest possible extent must build on representative attitudes among the Lapps. In this connection positive proposals on the formation of a representative Lapp body [the Sami parliament] are being considered. (p. 24)

The Sami are both Sami and Norwegians, with rights as both.

> The Lapps have an absolute right to utilize the general educational and cultural opportunities in society. The educational and cultural policies must have as objectives to

> give the Lapps general conditions for utilizing the whole spectrum of the possibilities society offers. (p 24)

Strengthening of the distinctive Sami character and culture and promoting their conditions must not be seen as an either-or proposition, or the diminution of one at the expense of another. [The reader may rightly detect that there is a struggle with the translation text here.]

> The cultural, economic and social pattern in the Lappish society must be characterized by equality between Lappish and Norwegian cultures. This equality status means:
>
> - rights for the Lapps to maintain a distinctive linguistic and cultural character;
>
> - the duty of others living in Lappish communities to adjust to this fact; and
>
> - the right of Lapps to give up their traditions and their Lappish identity based on real choices, which means that in practice one cultural group should not automatically represent many more opportunities than the other. (pp. 24-25)

This is important and helps illuminate a false dichotomy which was once NWT policy, i.e., that one could be completely without any support of any kind and live traditional-style in the bush, or one could enter Mainstream Canada and benefit from all the government programs and policies available while in transit to southern-style Canadianism. Northerners as much as southerners have benefitted most when adopting large measures of each other's ways to find an optimal lifestyle.

In an esoteric section the report urges that international law be used to encourage a larger vision of Sami cultural policy, not as a constraint. A particularly interesting proposal is that a three-nation Nordic agreement be sought as the framework for international work on Sami questions. (p. 25) The intent here is that international work may be more effective than merely domestic work. It will be recalled that the Sami Rights Committee made a similar recommendation. The same argument might be made in respect of Dene and their interests in the NWT, Yukon and Alaska, and Inuit in Canada, Greenland and Alaska. The idea is an intriguing one, and certainly would fit the views of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference respecting, e.g., marine pollution. Joint work on Inuit language has been called for in many ICC resolutions and might be a useful area for initial work. This seems to be an area where the NWT government might well take initiative.

The discussion turns to the Sami language, a Finno-Ugric language of the Ural family. It has three main divisions today - East Sami, Central (including North) Sami and South Sami. These divisions have been essentially the same for the last 400-500 years. For some pages the summary now outlines the history of Sami language in recent centuries.

The following factors with respect to language and language users will be discussed:

- the connection of language to trade and industry and to life style;

- the user-value of the language nationally and internationally;

- historical portion;

- the language is the national language in neighbouring states;

- concentrated settlement - delineated settlement areas;

- population share;

- official language regulations;

- inner self-government (home rule);

- status in elementary school;

- media; and

- written language traditions.

The Lappish language situation can be summarized as follows:

- The original basis for Lapp language development has disappeared in many areas. The active use of the language has been weakened considerably and in part also disappeared.

- The factors that have contributed to this development have, today, also reached the traditionally safest areas for Lappish language recruitment.

- Some official measures (the school, Lappish radio, etc.) have, in part, replaced earlier language-stimulating elements, but can today hardly be characterized as fully satisfactory safety factors for Lappish language.

> - The linguistic work to establish and develop the language has had positive effects, but the lack of official status of the language has had a limiting effect.
>
> - The geographic recruitment area for people with Lappish as their first language has been shrinking sharply in the last generation.
>
> - Areas with Lappish settlements where people wholly or in part are still tied to traditional Lappish trade and industry are, together with reindeer herding, still the natural anchor for Lappish language.
>
> - The future of Lappish as a living language will stand or fall with developments in the areas where it still is the main language used daily. (pp. 29-30)

The report turns to some aspects of language need, and notes that Norway already recognises the importance of language by having legislation for the public service, schools, etc. use of bokmaal and nynorsk, the two median dialects of spoken Norwegian today. It is dangerous for an outsider - or insider - to say anything about Norwegian language policy. It is a subject for endless passion and obscurantism, but the history of language and literature from the romantic movement's first Norwegian stirrings to today is compelling for anyone interested in literature, language or language policy. (A good introduction is Einar Haugen's material prefatory to his standard dictionary of Norwegian into modern North American English.) At any rate, Norway, like Canada, has a history of language dispute and legislation, with quotas and requirements for employment, in regard to the main population's main languages.

To continue,

> The committee understand that their mandate expresses a wish from central authorities to come up with suitable arrangements that will secure full language rights for the Lapps in the fields of education, administration and public service, service institutions and the judiciary.
>
> Furthermore, the basis is that the government recognizes Lappish language as an important condition for the Lapps to manifest their identity for their cultural continuity and security in addition to it being a part of Norway's basic cultural heritage.
>
> The strengthening of the Lappish language must be carried out in parallel in many areas simultaneously and be guided by the principle of balance between the official use of the language and the unofficial base the language has in the various environments.

> Lappish and Norwegian must therefore be placed on equal footing both as a language of communication and of culture. (p. 32)

Then the law.

> The framework for the law must, in the view of the committee, be the equal value and equal position considerations used as the basis for the official regulations with respect tothe two official Norwegian languages, bokmaal and nynorsk. For the Lapp this means:
>
> - protection of the Lappish language environments;
> - right to use the language one wishes in contact with public authorities;
> - right to encounter the Lappish language in public documents and speech;
> - right to instruction in Lappish.
>
> Government authorities must also be required to:
>
> - take into consideration the Lappish language characterizing certain areas;
> - take into consideration linguistic wishes and background of individuals; and
> - use the language according to guidelines established in acts and regulations. (pp 32-33)

Then consideration is given to selected townships receiving special legal status because of their Sami character. Township is the best concept here, but "region" might be as good a word. Norway is a small country compared to Canada. The six townships selected as primary Sami districts are Kaafjord in north-eastern Troms and Kautokeino, Tana, Porsanger, Karasjok and Nesseby in Finnmark. Reasons are given for the choice, balancing need with the already existing strength of Sami language and identity which will provide fertile ground for further development measures. (p. 33) A committee minority disliked naming such areas becasue it left out many others as second class, and such matters should be determined by local councils. If one left Sami rights to local councils, in most areas, there would be no Sami rights, of course.

The whole committee agrees that Sami all over Norway must have the right to their language in contact with police, courts and medical authorities - also in religion. They also all agree that both Norwegian-speaking and Sami-speaking Sami should have the right to learn Sami and that their children have the right to be taught Sami and educated in Sami in both primary and secondary school. (p. 34)

The draft Sami Language Act is attached at the end of this volume as APPENDIX 1.

The most interesting elements of the draft Act, and it is expected to become law, are the provisions for Sami language townships, where Sami language skills will outweigh other factors in the hiring of public servants, and schooling, where children have a right to Sami education, not parents choosing for them. In other words, the old habit of parents abandoning Sami traditions in the interests of assimilation is discouraged, and this should be an effective weapon in marginal districts of Samiland. Sufficient Sami families in an area should permit creation of a Sami school, even outside Sami areas. (Could one not consider NWT schools for Inuit and Dene/Métis children in Edmonton and Ottawa?) All Sami would have to have a full grounding in Norwegian, of course. Sami history and culture would become areas for study in schools, obligatory for Norwegian students. Obviously the implementation will depend on available funds, but high priority is attached to these measures. (pp 39-46)

***

The Sami Culture Committee has outlined a practical and pragmatic approach to the decline in Sami language and culture. It has founded its view squarely on a view of social equality, but not demanded unreasonable implementation. While some of the Norwegianised Sami and SLF supporters want platitudes about equal rights and so on, and oppose imposed solutions, even they agree with the drift of the report. Indeed, just before its publication the SLF leader stood in the dust at Tana by the river and sent broadcast crews into shock with his endorsement of a strong policy.

It is worth noting one circumpolar phenomenon here. Although Canada has the worst of both worlds, with not one but two of the most arrogant, chauvinistic and unilingualist populations on earth, English and French, insisting on the glories of their tongue, Canadians need to know that bi- and multi-lingualism is not unusual. Traditional Aboriginals in north Australia spoke a number of languages each, and still do. In the circumpolar area, there is a trend. Emerging peoples like the Greenland Inuit or the Sami are not only re-emphasising the learning of their ancestral languages and giving these official status, but they are also acquiring third languages, usually English, for world use. In Greenland and Lapland, the local Dano-Norwegian is hardly useful abroad, so the native language, plus

Dano-Norwegian, plus English is learned. Canadians are in the habit of imagining that language is an either-or thing - that if one speaks Inuktitut or Sami one is turning one's back on the world - but the actual trend in minority language development is more complex.

The policy of giving Sami-speakers preference in public service jobs in Sami core areas is potentially the most significant political recommendation of the Sami Culture Committee. It would mean that very quickly Sami held much more influence in daily public affairs and did not feel so isolated from the administration. In Sami areas, far more Sami have the general qualifications for positions than may be the case in the NWT among Inuit, Dene and Métis. However, as observed elsewhere, local and county government in Norway "administers" more than it "determines". It will be interesting for Canadians to watch the actual progress here.

The long-term impact of a policy based on the Sami Culture Committee report must be significant. The Sami Rights Committee chairman has publicly invited the Sami Culture Committee to recommend roles for the Sami parliament in respect of culture and education. Such roles would seem to fit their thinking. The more important question may be whether the Sami parliament will be adequate to the Sami society which emerges with implementation of this report. It is all very well to have national Sami rights and local Sami culture transmitted by schools and admitted by public bodies. But the question of Sami government and the application of Sami cultural choices to territory and people remain unsolved and, for now, unaddressed. Perhaps being Sami will be like being Catholic in Ontario, with separate schools and some separate social agencies, but otherwise a normal member of the community. There is also the question of large Sami populations in the large centres like Tromsö - important and vibrant Sami communities with tremendous leadership and professional skills to offer, but outnumbered by Norwegians.

The Sami Culture Committee's proposed Act is now passing through Parliament, and the reforms and constitutional amendment put forward by the Sami Rights Committee are coming into force. It would appear that Norwegians and Sami have a long way to go yet before sorting out their relations, but if these two reports are typical of the determination of an enlightened government and public, there is hope.

6 - THE PORSANGER STATEMENT

In March, 1985, the Porsanger SLF issued a statement in the form of a report with recommendations on Rights of the Resident Population in Coastal and Fjord Areas. Two months later the document was obtained in photocopy at the SLF (Samenes Landsforbund) head office, at the time a neat suburban house with fence in Tana.

The Porsanger statement was a very important development. For the first time it provided a clear and comprehensive view of what SLF and the Sea Sami were seeking. And far from the merely negative and disruptive approach of which they are often accused, SLF were here staking out a very strong position. That it became entangled in the matter of relations with other groups, especially the local Kvens and Norwegians, reflected the daily realities of life among Sami, a minority in their own home areas, or "the forgotten people" as they say in a phrase also used by Canadian non-status Indians and Métis. The statement provoked as much upset and indignation among some established Norwegian bodies as ever the aboriginal rights positions of NSR had done. In SLF's summer general assembly that year, the Porsanger report was adopted by the organisation.

The translation used below was prepared for the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and distributed in September, 1985, in a binder under the heading, Aboriginal Coastal Rights in Norway. [1] That translation contains only selections from the text, plus the main conclusions, of the Porsanger statement, not the whole document. The translation was hasty and for the sake of clarity some few revisions appear in some quotations below.

The report draws on various expert and ethnographic materials, including some from the Tromsö Museum's outstanding Sami section.

> From way back the population in coastal Northern Norway has lived from a combination of fishing, hunting, berry gathering and small-scale agriculture. In other words: one harvested the natural resources found in the vicinity, both on land, in fresh water and in the sea.
>
> The purpose of the old siida system [Sami traditional unit of co-workers and kin] was that the local population should use those resources found within its area in combination in order to make a living and stay alive. The system must have functioned and been respected in the old Sea Lapp societies, and as late as after the Second World War it was noted that in several places in Finnmark one did not pick cloudberries in a marsh where the neighbour or someone else had his traditional picking place. (p. 1)

The coastal population has not been totally stable.

> Poverty and famine in Finland and Sweden down through the ages have forced the population in the interior in the extreme northern part of Scandinavia to migrate towards the Ice Sea and settle among the resident population in the coastal and fjord areas. Here they found lots of possibilities for fishing in rivers, lakes and the sea. There was enough game to hunt. In addition, there were possibilities for cultivating the soil for their own use. Thus they were assured of a livelihood and a new future. (p. 2)

The role of mining and construction, among other activities, in attracting new and retaining old workers is noted. One might add that research shows clearly how North Norway's outer coasts have had an ebb and flow of southern Norwegian population, fluctuating with the fortune of the ocean fisheries, reaching at least back into the Middle Ages.

> The settlements in Northern Norway are concentrated near lakes, rivers, fjords and the coast. This was a necessity for the resident population in order to survive in an otherwise tough and not very fertile environment up north. A common characteristic of all the agricultural societies, and the existence of the family in particular, was that they had to have the barter economy as the most important basis for their livelihood in order to survive. It is barter economy which forms the basis both for the Lapps living along the sea and those who live along the rivers in regard to economy, culture and settlements. (p. 2)

The seasonal exchange and cooperative relations were also the traditional basis of Reindeer Sami and Sea Sami relations when the herds were moved to and from summer pasture on the coast. The breakdown of this relationship, and Sea Sami resentment which is institutionalised now by SLF, is a tragedy for both peoples. It has many roots and is a classic misunderstanding, sensitively explored and explained by Harald Eidheim in his classic work, Aspects of the Lappish Minority Situation. [2] Many Sea Sami have tried to blend in and have not cared to be reminded by the traditional and traditionally dressed Reindeer Sami of their own "Lappishness", while the traditional demands of the Reindeer Sami violate the new work habits and wage expectations of the more Norwegianised coastal people. The anxiety, often revealed in disdain, by town folk in traditional areas like the Ottawa Valley or parts of Quebec towards farms and farmers may be a mild form of the same syndrome. But the farmer does not arrive to graze his herd on one's lawn and ask for help, equipment and supplies.

The report goes on to stress that Sea Sami coastal settlement goes back to ancient times. Also,

> Even today the Lapp population in these areas is more numerous than the Lapp population in the interior Lapp core regions. In size the Sea Lapp areas are also much bigger than the so-called Lapp core regions. (p. 3)

This is a key issue. Sea Sami have resented Sami identity being related in official and public minds only with Reindeer Sami whose distinctive traditional costumes and traditional occupation have been most easily seen to be transmitting Sami culture. Of course, the problem is not so simple. The Reindeer Sami by their location and occupation have been less threatened to date by outside influence and settlement, by ethnic mixing and by Norwegianisation pressures. Most experts agree that the Reindeer Sami have, in fact, provided the continuity and the visible culture which has been needed for the Sami identity to survive into today's world. But many Sea Sami believe the Reindeer Sami and some of the organisations which they dominate have been too élitist. Many individual coastal people feel they are looked down on by the more traditional Sami because they are not pure-blood Sami or because they have lost the Sami language or because they no longer express their Sami identity in day to day affairs. This painful adaptation and re-adaptation has been found among Inuit in Labrador, by non-status Indians in many areas of the provincial north and by some Métis. As with Canadian aboriginal people who have been divided by government policy and law, the Norwegian Sami have been divided - e.g., Reindeer Sami have their own special legislation, land use rights, industry and production policies, etc., whereas other Sami receive little or no official recognition. But as with Canadian aboriginal people, too, the victims of this "discrimination", the groups created among Sami from a single culture, blame each other. In Canada the Métis and non-status Indian organisations are really only beginning to come to grips with this problem, although in the NWT and Yukon at least they are negotiating land claims alongside officially registered Indians. The studies of "Métissage" in Western Canada and studies in North Norway may provide a useful starting place for helpful sharing of experience and discussion of solutions among Sea Sami and Canadian native people. [3] The northern territories have had problems with these issues, but, significantly, they are the only areas of Canada where they are now being solved.

As for lifestyle,

> The traditional economic base for the Sea Lapps is fjord fishing, agriculture on a small scale, hunting, berry gathering, fishing in lakes and other sources of income or food from outlying fields. Most of the time the livelihood was secured through a combination of these. Only exceptionally did one of these activities provide sufficient income to be the sole source of income. Most of the time

> families functioned with a combination of these activities, with fjord fishing, agriculture and harvesting the outlying fields being the most important ones. (p. 3)

The possibilities for harvesting these resources were decisive in determining the pattern of Sami settlement.

> Traditionally the settlements were spread out in many small rural districts. In areas where hunting, berry picking and lake fishing were abundant, relatively large Lapp settlements got established. This is a pattern which we recognize today as well in the areas populated by Sea Lapps. The settlements are spread out, but where there are local areas rich in resources, bigger societies have developed.
>
> These original Lapp settlements in the coastal and fjord areas harvested mainly all that nature produced locally. The resource base in the various areas determined the location and the size of the settlements. In this way one can say that relatively limited geographical areas functioned independently of each other as a base for their livelihood in the various Lapp settlements. The societies formed by the Sea Lapps used, harvested and managed their resource areas locally. This applies to both fjords, rivers, valleys, hay fields, etc. (p. 3-4)

An interesting view from the past comes from the Dano-Norwegian state's military officer, Major Peter Schnitler, who was investigating conditions in North Norway in 1742-45 in connection with the ultimate boundary between Norway and Sweden. Schnitler visited Porsanger - a fjord in Finnmark opening north-north-eastwards into the Ice Sea (Arctic Ocean) - and provided a detailed account of the families living there in that month of September - 34 Sea Sami families, 13 Reindeer Sami families and 6 Norwegian families, these last all living on an island on the outer coast whose northern point, Nordkapp, is the northernmost point in Europe. Schnitler's overall summation is as follows:

> "Norwegians, who live on the islands, make their living from the sea, as is usual here in Finnmark, and keep very few cows and other domestic animals; no grain grows here, and there are no trees on the islands, so they burn peat moss or get their wood 3 to 4 miles away more or less from the interior through the fjords with great effort and at great cost. Some wood comes floating on the sea; whereform, no one knows, and is picked up on the islands and along the coast. This drift wood may be trees felled by the wind, or other timber, which water has carried with it or the ocean has broken.
>
> "The sea is the only element for these Norwegians, and they pay little attention to the land. It seems that they could

> produce more pasture land to keep more cattle, but one sees their dung, with which they could improve the soil, either down by the sea, where it is washed away, or in some other place where it goes to waste.
>
> "There are no spinning wheels, looms for weaving, shoemakers or other craftsmen among them, because they are used to buying fabric, woollens, shoes, boots, leather coats which are sea-dresses made of skins, etc.
>
> "The Sea Lapps, on the other hand, are better off. They live farther inland, along the fjords, near or in the forest, where it costs them nothing to burn wood. They do not only have the sea, like the Norwegians, for their livelihood; they also can go hunting in the mountains, catch birds, wild reindeer and other animals, as well as more opportunity to clear and obtain more land for fields (if they just want to do it). Thus the living conditions of these Lapps who live inland are better than those of the Norwegians living on the islands." (p. 5)

The report then begins to reach its main themes.

> In spite of the size of the Sea Lapp population, and in spite of the relatively large geographical area settled by them, the Sea Lapps are today "the forgotten Lapps". This is true socially, culturally and not least of all economically. We shall concentrate on the economic aspects. But it is also valuable to know the social and cultural aspects of today's Sea Lapp society. There is a close connection between today's economic situation for the population in Sea Lapp regions and the cultural and social strains to which this population has been exposed for generations. (p. 6)

A taste of the Sea Sami recent past is given.

> The Sea Lapps have been considered as a low-status population for centuries. Expressions describing them are seen as very negative, something which is indicative of the attitude towards Sea Lapps of those using such expressions.
>
> The Sea Lapps were seen as Lapps by the Norwegian population. Written sources, especially from the end of the 19th century, are full of derogatory attitudes tgowards the Sea Lapps. ...
>
> In 1893 one could read that "one does not need to be a prophet to predict that their days are numbered". In 1903 it was written that "the communal turf huts and the life which is led there, probably represent the lowest living standard for human habitation in Europe". Furthermore: "No

> wonder that the offspring are weak and inferior." In 1907 the district physical in Kistrand offered the following explanation for the disease that often afflicted the Sea Lapps, namely a hip out of joint, since birth: "Since the Sea Lapps are without a doubt a degenerating people, I suppose it is due to that." Such statements from public authorities contributed towards the creation of the attitudes that Sea Lapps have been the victims of. (pp. 6-7)

Norwegian smugness was misplaced because the country as a whole was said to be the poorest in Europe before 1900. But if these examples of condescension were offensive, frequent enough in Canada in our own time, greater official danger was to come:

> During the last world war, the Norwegian Nazi policy chief Gard Holtskog suggested to Terboven (the chief German officer in Norway) that as a group the Sea Lapps ought to be sterilised, because they were of the opinion that the Sea Lapps represented a good-for-nothing group of people made up of half-breeds.
>
> The Lapps who were involved with reindeer, on the other hand, were considered to be much better, because they produced a lot of reindeer meat. One can just imagine what would have happened to the Sea Lapps if the Nazis had won the war. (p. 7)

Again, the Sea Lapps have faced discrimination closer to home;

> ...they were not accepted as "genuine" Lapps by the population from the interior core regions either. (p. 7)

One can begin to see why the sensitivity in SLF to the use of "core areas" as an organising principle in, e.g., the Sami Culture Committee report. But the heart of their complaint is clear:

> The population in the Sea Lapp areas in a way lost their identity. They were not accepted as Lapps or Norwegians. Even today one can encounter a negative or at best indifferent attitude towards the Sea Lapps. For this reason, social researchers today have started to use more and more often the expression "a minority within the minority". This is in spite of the fact that the Sea Lapps form the biggest Lapp group in Norway by far. (p. 8)

Then, under the heading "Restitution", the document continues:

> The Sea Lapp population has not received the restitution which is due them because of the tough Norwegianization

> policy that has hit the Sea Lapps especially hard during the last 100 years. (p. 8)

This is what in North America we call a claim, for compensation or a full "land claim", and centred on aboriginal ethnicity. It surprised many people because SLF had so often pronounced itself against aboriginal rights. However, as some expert commentators have suggested, semantics and confusion over language have caused some of the tension between SLF and NSR. Indeed, some people believe that if some Sami rights spokesmen had paid more attention to the language and understanding of the Sami public, many conflicts might have been avoided.

Again the complaint is made that

> Attention concerning Lapp questions in political contexts has been directed towards so-called "core regions", and it has seemed that old Sea Lapp townships like Porsanger, Lebesby and Kvalsund should be excluded. One gets the impression many times that the various authorities do not wish to acknowledge the existence of a population group called Sea Lapps. (p. 8)

In fact, as seen earlier, Porsanger has been considered a "core area" in the Sami Culture Committee proposals. Yet SLF is sometimes ambiguous - they want attention, but then deny they want it. They are torn between wanting to be Sami and wanting not to be seen as Sami. Even the open definition of Sami proposed by the Sami Rights Comittee - i.e., self-definition - upset many because it would mean that a Sami would have to come out of the closet and this might embarrass him or invite negative opinion from neighbours. This frustration and anxiety at the heart of the dilemma for many Sami cannot be resolved by outsiders. Besides, experience has shown that if the government moved to extend special consideration, SLF might well oppose it. The re-examination of Sami identity by many north Norwegian coastal dwellers and the re-discovery and re-assertion of their culture forms the most exciting story in North Norway today. Sometimes a whole "Norwegian" community announces itself to be Sami, almost like the community religious revivals of northern aboriginal villages in Canada.

At the same time, it must be stressed that there are Sea Sami who have always been proud of the Sami culture, confident in it and whose commitment to a Sami future is whole-hearted. As writers like Brantenberg and Thuen have shown, SLF, in spite of some of its rhetoric has been helpful to the wavering and the unsure by providing an umbrella under which their struggle can proceed within an extended definition of "Sami-ness". Certainly in the Porsanger document, SLF is sounding like a mainstream aboriginal rights movement, despite the frequent lapse into a plaintive tone. One hopes they quickly find the self-confidence to leave such moods behind because in public relations these usually undermine a case, however valid it may be, and are more likely to provoke negative responses than would forthright approaches.

A particularly sorrowful bit follows the last quotation and it will be passed over.

"Sea Lapp Resource Areas" are the next subject and here we return to the point about a mixture of economic activities needed - agriculture, sea fishing, hunting, etc. The point is also made that the whole family is an economic unit, and that division of tasks may be important as is the contribution of each.

> In the "typical" Sea Lapp economic unit (the family), the man was the person fishing in the fjord, the wife ran a small farm with cows and some sheep, the children helped everywhere, and together the family harvested berries, fish from the lakes, game and other products from outlying fields. The traditional base on which the Sea Lapp family built its existence was to be found within the local areas (resource areas).
>
> The resource areas comprised the following:
>
> - the small farm, the natural point of departure and the centre;
>
> - the fjord, where one caught fish for home consumption and for sale;
>
> - the islets, where game, eggs, down, etc. were gathered;
>
> - outlying fields, where fodder for one's own use and for sale was taken;
>
> - mountain huts and fields, where the cattle and the tame reindeer had their pastures;
>
> - the rivers and lakes, where salmon and other fresh-water fish were caught;
>
> - the cloudberry marshes, the mountain cranberry marshes and the blueberry hills, where berries were found;
>
> - the mountains, where game was hunted; and
>
> - the forest and the peat moss marshes, where fuel was found. (pp. 9-10)

The next section is headed, "Use, Not Abuse".

> The various families administered the areas together. One agreed upon places to pick berries, to chop wood, to set out the nets, etc. We do not know of any serious problems or conflicts from written sources in regard to the Sea Lapp administration of their own resource areas. ... It is also important to note that Lapps of Finnish origin and Norwegians who settled among the Sea Lapps in these rural districts quickly blended into the population and got their full share of the natural resources without provoking any ethnic conflicts in the rural society. (p. 10)

A similar situation has taken place in NWT aboriginal communities, the problems only arising when large numbers of outsiders or imposed regulation for resource use, or competing resource use, arrives. This is most important because governments tend to see ethnic conflict where more often the issue is resource use conflict, a conflict which can become more bitter because one ethnic group's essential livelihood may be an aspiring industry's profit and an enthusiastic government's tax revenue. That is, given an initial cleavage, the addition of other factors like ethnicity make it more volatile, politically.

The report goes on to stress that an ecological balance was maintained as an essential element of the Sami heritage - that

> resource areas were to be used, but not used up. One must not overtax nature, just harvest so much of nature's gift that the resources would constantly renew themselves. (pp. 10-11)

And today?

> If we compare this traditional picture of a Sea Lapp rural society with the situation in the same societies today, we will soon discover that there have been dramatic changes.
>
> Fewer and fewer people live from the old Lapp primary economic activities. This does not mean that they no longer play any part, but rather that the so-called "development", especially after the world war, also has made itself felt in these areas. Just as in other regions of the country, more and more people find their livelihood in secondary and tertiary economic activities.
>
> The importance of the traditional Lapp primary economic activities has been greatly reduced. But the combined economic activities still continue to play an important part in the Sea Lapp settlements. For example, only one quarter of the farmers in Porsanger live solely from farming. Most of them combine the farming wth other Lapp primary activities or other suitable seasonal employment or part-time labour. (pp. 11)

One must add that even those farmers who are fulltime farmers receive subsidies which may be the highest on earth, and are certainly among the most controversial. (See next chapter.)

The report then takes the title of Björklund's 1985 book, translated as "From Lapp fjords to Norwegian outskirts", to show how Sea Sami areas have been apparently transformed in the past century.

> In some Sea Lapp areas all outer Lapp signs have disappeared from the surface. The young people growing up are totally ignorant as to their Lapp background. (pp. 11-12)

Björklund writing in a genre which usually attracts merely vanity publication or "local history" hit a rich vein of sentiment and emotion with his work, both in the Kvaenangen fjord about which he wrote (where locals said "He has given us back our history!") and Norway as a whole where national reviewers accorded him rave notices. He also won the national book award. His book is a sensitive discussion of social and cultural change, of changing and difficult times, and an undoubted landmark. Kvaenangen, like Porsanger, is one of the great north-opening fjords of the arctic coast.

To return to Porsanger,

> The negative development in the Sea Lapp areas is due in large part to the policies of the authorities, both culturally and economically. The one-sided efforts on the part of the authorities to encourage one-job economies did not suit the Sea Lapp areas. Therefore, several thousand Sea Lapp small farms have been abandoned after the war as being unprofitable. The overfishing in the fjords and the expansion of the reindeer herds from the interior meant that not much was left in the old resource areas belonging to the Sea Lapps - their larders. (p. 12)

Since this report was written, the move from the Finnmark coast has become a flood, and something of a national crisis. This is the more surprising because Norwegian governments had already specifically abandoned policies of population concentration and abandonment of outports in North Norway as inhumane. That policy had been tried earlier and its disastrous social consequences are still much remembered.

> Another aspect which has not been sufficiently clarified, is the attitude that people from the outside have always had towards the Lapps. [Etc.!] (p. 12)

But, more positively,

> Only recently have the Sea Lapps begun to get organized. The lack of a strong organization meant that the Sea Lapps found themselves without any real possibility to influence the future in regard to their special situation. (p. 12)

In a crucial section, SLF explains that Sami groups have tended to represent inland and Reindeer Sami interests; that the important fisheries organisations have never really been interested in the part-time fjord fisherman; that agriculture bodies have no interest in the mixed and part-time farmer; and that hunting and fishing oranisations have not been interested in the fights of part-time subsistence fishermen and hunters. In Norway where economic and regulatory power are bound up with these semi-official organisations and unions who set all the terms of their economy with government, the Sea Sami fall through the cracks - they are unrepresented.

> Therefore the Sea Lapps have not traditionally had their place in organizations or groupings which could have espoused their cause. The lack of identity in the case of the Sea Lapps continues into our modern society. All along other people, not Sea Lapps, have determined the development in the Sea Lapp areas.
>
> We see the result today. These areas have been managed in such a way that the basis for the resident populations of these areas has been destroyed or is in the process of being destroyed. The Sea Lapps today feel that their future is threatened from many sides. (p. 13)

A new section under the title, "Threats From Many Sides", begins with a slightly technical discussion of fishing problems occasioned by big operators' equipment destroying essential fjord fish habitat and small fish, while also competing with Sea Sami for scarce resources. On land, policies work against the small Sami farmer, and particularly resented are "recreational areas for people from more urban areas". (p. 14) These latter has severely cut into the more supplementary hunting, fishing and gathering possibilities. It should also be stated that in most areas, the migrations from inland Scandinavia to the coast referred to earlier have meant that wood lot and habitat at the bottoms of fjords, formerly a Sami commons, has been settled and cleared, not only removing much productive resource land from Sami use but also hemming in Sami and their activities between the Norwegians in the outer fjords and the Finns in the fjord bottoms. But it is not discussed in this document, either because it is not a problem in Porsanger, or because SLF would prefer to build an alliance with neighbours like the Kvens on bigger issues of economic hardship.

The subject of conflict with Reindeer Sami follows, much being made of the strength, official status, power and benefits of the Reindeer Sami. A very important point is made:

> ...the Parliament and the government have acknowledged the importance of the reindeer operations as a carrier of Lapp culture. In relation to this, the Sea Lapps have been fighting a battle without rights in order to preserve their resource areas. No other Lapp economic activity apart from reindeer operations has been recognized as such by the authorities. (p. 14)

Official support is needed for the Sea Sami economy.

> A very decisive factor in the negative economic development is the lack of loans and financial support to combined economic activities.
>
> ...
>
> Many of the Sea Lapp settlements do not lend themselves to specialization in either fishing or agriculture.
>
> ...
>
> What is worse, is that many are being forced to move away, to towns or more heavily populated areas, often further south, in order to find work. The unemployment is particularly great in the Sea Lapp areas. In this way the greatest resource of all, the youth, is being lost. (pp. 14-15)

The economic decline has forced many to move away, and

> In many places this development has gone so far as to erase all exterior signs of the Lapps. It looks as if all Sea Lapps have disappeared from many big areas. ... In the Sea Lapp context, exodus and assimilation are well-known phenomena. (p. 16)

Exodus and assimilation. Those words are strong and clear. They also leave Norway in a very vulnerable position vis-à-vis the Sami Rights Committee's equally clear findings about securing the material cultural base, i.e., natural resources, of Sami as a national and international obligation. (See quotations and discussion in Chapter 4.)

Research is quoted to show that in Sea Sami areas where outward and detectable attributes of Sami culture are absent, the Sami are still marked by gerater dependence on primary economic activity and a poorer social and economic lot. Sea Sami areas are the poorest in North Norway.

> This means there is a need for new measures, not in order to exclude anybody, but rather to make sure that all residents

> in the Sea Lapp districts obtain living conditions on a par with the rest of Norway. (p 17)

Under "Protection and Development", the report notes that Sea Sami have not been consulted about developments in their areas. Returning to the various sectoral organisations mentioned earlier, SLF now points out that while Sami have not fitted into these groups, the groups have been deciding the future of Sami resources for the benefit of others. (p. 17) A comparison is also made with the powerful Reindeer Sami who are well able to fight for their own interests, thank to official recognition.

Meanwhile, Sea Sami culture is dying, despite a desperate fight for economic and cultural survival in rural areas.

> All this is going on at the same time that our authorities and leading politicians assure us that the Lapps will get secure living conditions on the Lapps' own terms. Who are these Lapps, then? Do the authorities consider only the reindeer owners and the Lapps from the interior as being true Lapps? What about the Sea Lapps, who are far more numerous, and who have suffered a lot because of the way the Norwegianization policy was often carried out in the districts where they live? (p 18)

This section concludes with a cool comment, the more cutting in proud and equality conscious Norway, that Sea Sami merely seek basic economic rights as residents and living conditions equal to those of other Norwegians. (p. 19) For them, they say, Norway's famous social policies have failed.

Recommendations are made. From here forward it will be noted that the aboriginal claim is undisguised and unapologetic, and that the language takes a significant step further than in the preceding discussion. For fjord fishing, the national fisheries department

> must acknowledge the importance of fjord fishing as a carrier of Sea Lapp culture, traditions and settlement. The state management of the fjord resources and the fishing agreement between the state and the fishing industry must be worked out in such a way that all fjord fishermen be assured of continued livelihood from fjord fishing. (p. 19)

Other measures are proposed, including that

> Sea Lapp districts must get priority when concessions for pisciculture and ocean fishing are distributed and conditions warrant this. (p. 20)

Income stabilisation and adequacy under fish sale pricing are needed for Sea Sami areas, another jab at a system which is supposed to work in Norway. Serious research is also needed in the Porsanger fjord to find out what is happening. (p. 20)

For "Salmon Fishing",

> The Department of the Enviroinment must acknowledge the importance of salmon fishing as a carrier of Lapp culture and settlement in River and Sea Lapp districts. The new Commission for Nature Management must have as its goal to manage natural resources in such a way that it promotes the communities in Sea Lapp districts. ... (p. 21)

Other specific points are made, and the need for

> Lapps and Lapps of Finnish origin...[to] regain their right won by established custom to use set nets on private property. This fishery ought to be limited to the extent suggested by the owners themselves. (p. 22)

The other points are also classic expressions of aboriginal right.

For "Fresh Water Fishing", lost and infringed rights by recent settlers must be regained by Sea Sami. The introduction says that such measuers should be "seriously considered" but the wording of the specific texts is clear and strong.

For "Agriculture", the government is again called upon to "acknowledge" the central cultural importance to Sea Sami of their farming, and then specific reforms are enumerated. Even stronger subsidies are needed for Northern Troms and Finnmark than now exist. Collective bodies need to have certain collective powers of economic management, and

> People living in Lapp districts and who show interest should be encouraged to start up egg production and furs. (p. 25)

Sea Sami districts need special agricultural consultant services established at local level.

Not surprisingly, the suggestions for sorting out reindeer management between the Reindeer Sami and Sea Sami receive detailed consideration. (pp. 25-27)

The list continues, with a bounty proposed:

> There should be rewards given for crow, raven and fox, so that the grouse stock may increase again. (p. 28)

There are more proposals for grouse, and even one for research to see if the reindeer are competing with the grouse. (p. 29) In respect of hunting and fishing generally,

> The expert consultants should emphasize more the Lapp traditions and be more receptive to their practical experiences when preparing their evaluations, because they are the product of the local milieu. (p. 29)

Proposals for the management of berry picking and berry patches follow. (pp. 29-30) A section on recreation seeks to ensure traditional outdoor recreation to Sea Sami while also "limiting tourists' access" when need be. (p. 31)

Turning away from these primary economic activities, the report moves to "School Policy". The key point here is that the Finnish-speaking Kvens are to have their language protected and used in teaching, just as Sami language must have more rights in education. (p. 32) Sami, Finnish and Estonian are all closely related languages and sound similar to an outsider; however, they are all quite mutually unintelligible.

Both Sami and Kven arts and crafts should be supported in various ways, as well as local ethno-histories funded, genealogy researched, community halls for Sami and Kvens built (plus a budget "for the purchase of Sea Lapp and Kven hand crafts and decorative items for the decoration of these community halls" (p. 34)), and an office for the Sami cultural fund to be set up in the Sea Sami area of Northern Troms or Finnmark.

More support for Sami media is needed. More Sea Sami input into Sami Radio is needed. (pp. 34-35)

Sea Sami must be given more representation in all public bodies with a role in Sami questions. (p. 35)

Housing and local/regional transportation needs and projects are outlined. (p. 35-36) Health needs, also. (p. 37)

Any developments or impacts must first have Sami approval and Sami must have compensation for use if traditional activities are affected, and "no special exceptions made for reindeer owners"! (p. 38)

In the "Main Conclusions", it is first stated that Sea Sami "must be much better organized" (p. 39), something SLF itself has the power to effect, presumably. Then, included in a second point, Sami

> must get more self-determination when it comes to old Lapp resource areas in their local environment. (p. 39)

Furthermore, in a third point,

> The authorities must acknowledge the Lapp combination economic activities of fjord fishing, salmon fishing, fresh water fishing, agriculture, hunting and other harvesting of resources in the outlying areas as carriers of Lapp cultural traditions and settlement. People engaged in these combinations of economic activities should obtain economic status and get a full share in public supportive measures. There should be a separate economic agreement for the people exercising these combination economic activities. (p. 39)

In this passage, SLF has first asserted an aboriginal rights position, and then deftly defined the solution so as to make governments easily able to accept it and effect it on a non-discriminatory basis. Government may not be offered such an easy and exquisite compromise again.

As for management,

> The resource base on land, in the sea and in the lakes must be regulated with sensible and ecologically sound harvesting in mind, in accordance with old Lapp tradition. (p. 40)

***

There are four points which should be made. The first is that anyone who has doubted that SLF represents a real constituency with real concerns is badly mistaken. A powerful and, one must say, tragic set of interests unite this body. A unique group and region are so represented.

But the second thing one may also say is that such legitimacy, and the cri de coeur which is the Porsanger statement itself, does not automatically translate itself into effective advocacy, politics or power. As the Porsanger statement itself says, the Sea Sami and SLF have more organisational work to do. But more than that, we have seen in Canada that however good the cause, and even when it may have ample publicity and sympathy among the wider public, its exponents must learn to use the political system effectively and determine the best strategies. Sea Sami have been eager to embrace their neighbours, the Kvens, as allies, but how much have they damaged their own prospects by carrying forward their war with Reindeer Sami? As the Porsanger statement makes clear, all the main problems have come from Norwegian policy, not from the Reindeer Sami, whose contribution is a small irritant compared to the main issues. The other Sami groups are strong and therefore tremendous potential allies who, furthermore, are not opposed to the realisation of Sea Sami goals. Yet SLF has often lambasted the other Sami, their most natural allies, while engaging in exaggerated deference to symbols of Norwegian nationalism. Priorities are wrong here. Furthermore, this conflict with the Reindeer Sami provides the government with a very good reason not to accept either or any Sami aspirations for fear of public uproar. SLF is undermining its own efforts by fighting an unnecessary contest with other Sami, and the result has been far less government action than would and should have occurred. The key to any success is simple: to build a strong and confident case of one's own (a case the Porsanger SLF has outlined magnificently here), to say who one is rather than complaining about who someone else is (as SLF often does vis-à-vis Reindeer Sami), and to build alliances with potential allies (as SLF does with the Kvens and should, also, with other Sami).

A third point. The development of SLF, and the policy approach of which the Porsanger statement is an eloquent example, is a classic and perhaps unique illustration of the politics of aboriginal rights. A people, on the defensive and losing an economic struggle for survival, losing the possibility of remaining in their homeland, have adopted the rhetoric of the ruling power. They have rejected their kin who demand special rights and ethnic status, and try to appeal to the various structures and symbols of the ethnic majority. But they and their needs are invisible, they don't fit, and yet the people have a way of doing things which, age old, is still relevant and the best way (or perhaps the only way) to use resources sustainably and sanely in their difficult homeland. They finally are faced with a choice: they must resort to "exodus and assimilation", leaving their homeland and culture forever, or acquire recognition for their lifestyle. That lifestyle seems disorganised, fragmented, by Norwegian terms, but under another definition - Sami culture - it is quite coherent. So they then call it what is really is, and ask that by the declared principles of the state, including some fragmentary policies and programs for Sami, they receive the attention sufficient to survive. The only way they can do this is to assert their discovered or recovered Sami culture and Sami life, as "Sami rights". If they were like Norwegian neighbours they could move to Oslo and be Norwegians there, too, but they are Sami and to be Sami they must live in Sami communities. There is so much to be learned from the Sea Sami experience - and a great deal more to unfold in the future. One wishes that SLF would have exchange visits, and share ideas and information, with others abroad.

The fourth and final point is that the Sea Sami have issued a very dramatic challenge to the Norwegian state. They have revealed a social situation as poignant as the Highland Clearances of Scotland in the 18th century, except the Sami may not have the luck of the Scots in finding Canada to re settle and lead as one of the world's new countries. In the face of these challenges Norway has many assets. It has a newly official national acceptance of Sami culture and rights. It has the Brundtland report with all its guidelines, some of the recommendations of Brundtland's chapter 4 on indigenous peoples even echoing the language of the Porsanger statement. It has a strong tradition of state economic planning and respect for the environment, and a safeguarding of local interests. It has a clear invitation from the Sea Sami to make a claims settlement without calling it a claims settlement, provided that Sami cultural interests are protected de facto. (This technique is suspect to some people, but like the NWT wildlife management laws of old where phrases were found to avoid saying "Dene, Inuit and Métis", if they serve their purpose and underpin a society, the beneficiaries do not grumble.) Now that aboriginal rights are accepted at national level in Norway, and are accepted increasingly internationally, largely thanks to untiring efforts by Norwegian government officials abroad, these matters should not be difficult. And finally, the Norwegian government has been concerned about the exodus from North Norway and has been arguing with its allies for concessions to help at international level. But it is the national level where the crisis is. The Norwegian authorities and the current very progressive Norwegian government have no doubt surveyed the options. One must expect that they will make an historic settlement with the Sea Sami, one which serves the principles they have so well expounded in their adoption of Sami rights and of the Brundtland Report's sustainable development and environmental protection philosophies. The rest of us may hope to find in their response to the Sea Sami the moral leadership and genuine practical progress for which Norway has been justly famous in the 20th Century.

Notes

1. It is possible that a few copies remain. If so, they could be obtained from Corinne Gray, International Coordinator, ICC, 176 Gloucester Street, Ottawa, Canada K2P 0A6.

2. Published in English by Universitetsforlaget (Norwegian Universities Press), Oslo, 1971, 1974. See especially the chapters, "When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma" and "Assimilation, Ethnic Incorporation and the Problem of Identity Management" for the Sea Sami dilemma.

3. In Canada, excellent studies like The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America, edited by Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown, University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, 1985, have been appearing, especially in Western Canada, for years.

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7 - NORTHERN REALITIES AND THE BRUNDTLAND TOUCH

The dark era of the Alta conflict when administration and politics seemed mired in blunders was the moment when Gro Harlem Brundtland took over as Prime Minister. As minister who founded the environment department in an already environmentally sensitive country, the environmental and Sami rights row at Alta was her first public test. Years later, before returning to the Prime Minister's post from Opposition, she headed the World Commission for Environment and Development on behalf of the United Nations. Known simply as the Brundtland Commission, the Commission's work and report have been seen as nothing less than a landmark in human history. For the first time a mandated world body has defined the global environmental crisis in which we are all both victims and wrong-doers. Significantly the report is entitled Our Common Future, although it is generally known simply as "the Brundtland report". [1]

The value of the report lies not in new research or in vivid writing. The Commission used existing research and wrote in the careful style of Canadian cabinet submissions, not surprising given that the Commission secretary was a long-time Canadian writer of Cabinet submissions. Rather, the Commission took all the available material and integrated it, together with the ideas and current views of experts, concerned groups and individuals appearing around the world at hearings or otherwise contacted. As a Canadian environmental spokesman put it, "Brundtland has put the environment on the international political agenda." [2]

In her personal Foreword to the report, Gro Harlem Brundtland writes,

> The environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human actions, ambitions, and needs, and attempts to defend it in isolation from human concerns have given the very word 'environment' a connotation of naivety in some political circles. ... But the 'environment' is where we all live; and 'development' is what we all do in attempting to improve our lot within that abode. The two are inseparable. Further, development issues must be seen as crucial by the political leaders who feel that their countries have reached a plateau towards which other nations must strive. Many of the development paths of the industrialized nations are clearly unsustainable. And the development decisions of these countries, because of their great economic and political power, will have a profound effect upon the ability of all peoples to sustain human progress for generations to come. [3]

The world's environmental crisis is grim, and the Brundtland report details it, together with linkages in the policy making and actions of our many countries and peoples who create this crisis. Norwegians and Canadians contributed more to the Brundtland work than any others, their names appearing constantly in the lists of experts and representatives. Clearly, too, it is countries like ours which must take a lead in implementation. If wealthy, uncrowded, environmentally sensitive and progerssive countries like Canada and Norway do not show initiative, it will be unsurprising if other world leaders see no reason to commit themselves. Both Canada and Norway have taken some initial steps to talk about implementation, but to translate concepts into workable measures on the ground is often where governments and politicians lose their way. The north would seem to be a good place to start; furthermore, the section of the Brundtland report on indigenous peoples and their homelands is one of its most compelling passages.

> ...[S]ome communities - so-called indigenous or tribal peoples - remain isolated because of such factors as physical barriers to communication or marked differences in social and cultural practices.
>
> ...
>
> The isolation of many such people has meant the preservation of a traditional way of life in close harmony with the natural environment. Their very survival has depended on their ecological awareness and adaptation. But their isolation has also meant that few of them have shared in national economic and social development; this may be reflected in their poor health, nutrition, and education.
>
> With the gradual advance of organized development into remote regions, these groups are becoming less isolated. Many live in areas rich in valuable natural resources that planners and 'developers' want to exploit, and this exploitation disrupts the local environment so as to endanger traditional ways of life. The legal and institutional changes that accompany organized development add to such pressures.
>
> Growing interaction with the larger world is increasing the vulnerability of these groups, since they are often left out of the processes of economic development. Social discrimination, cultural barriers, and the exclusion of these people from national political pressures makes these groups vulnerable and subject to exploitation. Many groups become dispossessed and marginalized, and their traditional practices disappear. They become the victims of what could be described as cultural extinction.
>
> These communities are the repositories of vast accumulations of traditional knowledge and experience that links humanity with its ancient origins. Their disappearance is a loss for the larger society, which could learn a great deal from their traditional skills in sustainably managing very

> complex ecological systems. It is a terrible irony that as formal development reaches more deeply into rain forests, deserts, and other isolated environments, it tends to destroy the only cultures that have proved able to thrive in these environments.
>
> The starting point for a just and humane policy for such groups is the recognition and protection of their traditional rights to land and the other resources that sustain their way of life - rights they may define in terms that do not fit into standard legal systems. These groups' own institutions to regulate rights and obligations are crucial for maintaining the harmony with nature and the environmental awareness characteristic of the traditional way of life. Hence the recognition of traditional rights must go hand in hand with measures to protect the local institutions that enforce responsibility in resource use. And this recognition must also give local communities a decisive voice in the decisions about resource use in their area.
>
> Protection of traditional rights should be accompanied by positive measures to enhance the well-being of the community in ways appropriate to the group's life-style. For example, earnings from traditional activities can be increase through the introduction of marketing arrangements that ensure a fair price for produce, but also through steps to conserve and enhance the resource base and increase resource productivity.
>
> ...
>
> In terms of sheer numbers, these isolated, vulnerable groups are small. But their marginalization is a symptom of a style of development that tends to neglect both human and environmental considerations. Hence a more careful and sensitive consideration of their interests is a touchstone of a sustainable development policy. [4]

This passage is almost identical in its priorities and analysis with the Porsanger Sami statement (quoted extensively from page 53 above), or with any number of Inuit or other Canadian aboriginal statements over the years. The Brundtland report's marvellous sensitivity, while also couched in the language of government policy makers, provides a starting point for new policies in the north. Most importantly, it provides a system of values for industrial society. It says that if we cannot value aboriginal peoples and northern territories for their own sake, then at least we should realise their importance in the scheme of things and help them sustain their uniqueness.

In Canada, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference has begun work on a Brundtland-style sustainable development strategy for the Inuit north, i.e., Alaska, Canada and Greenland. ICC has joined with the governments of Yukon and NWT, and several federal departments, in a working group to coordinate and strengthen their several sustainable development projects. This is a very significant effort. It is also a reminder that unless aboriginal peoples are directly involved in economic and environmental planning, as requested by the Porsanger SLF, they are passed by. The Canadian government has learned recently what the territorial governments learned in the 1960s, namely that the northern and aboriginal context is sufficiently unique to require special policies and programs, even in old and entrenched areas like Fisheries.

The Norwegian government has a fine and long-standing planning process in respect of national and local projects, [5] although Alta reminded the experts that nothing can be taken for granted. There are well defined procedures and inputs required. Of course, times change and new problems arise. Also, as Porsanger SLF has shown, the existing organisational framework of the country may not provide for an aboriginal people. Similar problems have long hampered Canada's aboriginal people, reducing them to virtual powerlessness even within their home areas. "The system" has not been designed for minorities, and hence the importance of recognising Sami or Inuit formally so that they can gain access to the institutional framework, and add elements of their own, in order to participate as equals in society. Traditionally the Norwegian and Canadian governments treated aboriginal policy as assistance to disadvantaged persons, rather than to equal but different people. As the Sami Rights Committee well says, policy must be founded on the needs of maintaining a different culture.

The sort of problem which can arise is well illustrated by Ivar Björklund in a recent paper on North Norway's reindeer herding. [6] Alluding to the "tragedy of the commons", of which reindeer pastoralism is believed by some to be the ultimate example, Björklund explores the conflict between the theory of management of shared heritage and resources, "the commons", vs. the actuality of Sami reindeer management. He also refers frequently to the Canadian studies by Feit, Freeman, Usher and others on the complex and effective environmental management practised by indigenous peoples and how such systems have been ignored at cost by government agencies backed by academic science. In this paper he particularly concerns himself with the assumptions of a social democratic state and of scientific management towards Sami management. Because the ideology of the government is repelled by inequalities in the numbers of reindeer owned by different Sami, there is the desire to wade in. There is also the commons theory that herding is wasteful, capricious, etc. Here we see the typical arrogance and incomprehension of rational modern man confronted with a social, cultural and environmental system he does not understand.

> It is commonly believed that pastoral management systems necessarily imply periods of ecological breakdown and loss of animals through famine. According to conventional knowledge, the reason for this development is to be found in the combination of individual ownership of animals and common ownership of land which characterizes a pastoral economy. ... Every single herder will try to maximize his individual gain by putting more animals on the pasture, which ultimately leads to overgrazing, diminishing herds and economic loss for all herders. [7]

Quite a row has erupted in North Norway over this issue, with demands from some officials and scientists for changes which would effectively eliminate the Reindeer Sami culture. But, the reality is not so simple.

> ...[P]resupposing the non-existence of any system of resource management among the Sami pastoralists, this government approach [of "rationalising" herding] is a good example of the conventional wisdom when it comes to pastoralism: individual herders, unrestricted by restraints or responsibility, are each pursuing their own interests, regardless that it brings ruin to all.
>
> ...
>
> The first and very important statement is given by the historical sources: there is no historical evidence of overgrazing in a general sense in Sami pastoral areas. In fact, if overgrazing is to be understood as the destruction of pastures, consequently reducing the number of animals being able to persist, this is not known as a general characteristic of the pastoral conditions at any time in Sami history. ... The abrupt breakdowns in reindeer populations often cited by biologists are all examples referring to wild reindeers - cases where man is not mediating their relation to pasture.
>
> ... Twice this century (1917-18 and 1967-68) did quite irregular climate destroy the grazing conditions in the winter pastures of [Kautokeino], the most important pastoral area in Norway. ... The problem succeeding such winters was not related to the grazing conditions, but to the rebuilding of the herds.
>
> The fact that there are no recorded cases of breakdowns of the reindeer population due to overgrazing, undermines the pessimistic prophecies we have seen put forward by biologists and economisst and begs some questions about the nature of Sami pasture management. [8]

The issues are many here, but essentially one sees among the Reindeer Sami, as we have seen in an earlier chapter on the Sea Sami, that coalition of forces of supposed expertise and undoubted official weight which is responsible for so much stress in Sami culture today. From the folks who brought you the Alta project, we now give you Finnmark commons management!

> The fact that the Sami pastoral system of resource management today is heavily affected by political and economic intervention from Norwegian national authorities, makes it even more important for us to understand its ecological and social constitution. External regulations are now transferring the control of establishing new production units from the siida [Sami traditional herding unit] to governmental institutions - today one needs an official permit to enter reindeer herding. As a vehicle for resource management, Norwegian law and authority does not recognize the siida, and has set up specific administrative institutions to perform these tasks. This will probably make the pastoralists economically and politically dependent upon the national authorities and their views of how both herding and husbanding is to be done. These conflicting interests between the traditional pastoral institutions and their Norwegian counterparts are nowadays generating a lot of turbulence, which has not been the topic of this article. [9]

Yet these problems are avoidable, and the Brundtland report wisely recognised that traditional indigenous management institutions are vital to protecting areas like Finnmark.

The Brundtland report has added an important new level to our thinking about northern territories. It casts its view of the world and its recommendations in terms of public and political institutions. The aboriginal peoples increasingly do the same, as we have seen already in material quoted from SLF and NSR, while NRL's whole purpose is to negotiate government statutory and administrative arrangements. These issues are not always easy. At an international workshop on the Sami Rights Committee report and relevant experience in Canada, Greenland, Sweden and Finland, the NSR representative, Vigdis Stordahl was candid in her remarks on a Sami parliament.

> The NSR has put forward draft proposals for a publicly elected body, the Sami Albmotcoahkkin. The problem is that the proposal of the NSR is ambiguous with regard to the powers of this body. In my opinion the NSR did not succeed in thinking through exactly how the intended powers are to be executed in practice. Like our adversaries we are amateurs in this respect because this is a novelty in our country. Unlike our adversaries, however, we suffer from a fatal lack of human and economic resources. To formulate our ideas in concrete terms is going to be expensive. We need someone who is able to write down our ideas on paper and then travel abroad to explain the contents of this

> paper. It would have been better if we had been able to go abroad on study trips to learn from the experience of others. The only unifying forum in which we have been able to discuss these matters has been the annual general meetings of our Reindeer Herders Association (NRL). We do not have a general secretary of anything like it. There is only one person employed in our office. Everything has to be done in one's spare time. I understand very well that people become frustrated and tired. On top of all this our representative on the Sami Rights Committee has no opportunity to discuss openly in her organisation the matters under consideration. Is it any wonder that we are powerless? The Danish singer Trille sings about "dreams destroyed turning into violence". Let us hope that this will not happen. [10]

Vigdis Stordahl's concern about lack of expertise is not so widely shared by aboriginal groups in Canada. There has been a usually skillful combination of political dealing and public relations, and a growing savoir faire in relations with governments and government processes. The two constitutional forums in the NWT have been perhaps the best examples of sound and steady work towards solving jurisdictional and institutional questions. Nevertheless, lack of experience has caught up with many Canadian groups once they get to the negotiating table with government. People in Norway like Ms. Stordhal and others have been far more aware of the fact that social change is a process. At times it has been hard for Sami groups to move beyond theory to practice, but in Canada many aboriginal groups and governments have expected instant results which would transform realities. They have been sadly disappointed.

In the north of Norway or Canada, solutions - institutional or legislative, administrative or environmental - will take time while people learn how to use new structures and while the existing structural environment comes to accept the new institutions. By this is not meant that officials will refuse to do their jobs, but rather that officials will not know where or how new bodies fit, as we have learned in Canada. In Canada we already have numerous official or officially commissioned reports about the difficulties of the first land claims experiences and first self-government experiences - about how aboriginal peoples have had many problems because the official networks to plug them in did not exist. The Quebec Inuit have spent most of their annual land claims interest lobbying governments to implement the agreement which gave them the money in the first place. Yet we have also seen how structures too remote from traditional Canadian ones may have even more trouble because they do not fit familiar institutional frameworks at all. If both governments and new institutions are amateurs, in Ms. Stordahl's word, there can be a long period of frustration and delay.

It is important to foresee these things, and to work to overcome them. Canadians have seemed, to foreigners and to some of us at home, so concerned with legal and constitutional formulae, in dealing with land claims and self-government, that we have been insufficiently aware of social, economic and cultural conditions on the ground. On the plus side, however, we have so many different experiments underway in different parts of Canada that our mistakes and successes provide a rich learning experience for others, including the Sami.

A Norwegian academic study has illuminated one of the local features of aboriginal political development shared with northern Canada. Under the title of "Entrepreneurship in Politics", Harald Eidheim has analysed how the representative of the majority society, Norwegian in Lapland or southern Canadian in aboriginal villages, can abuse northern inexperience to build a local power base at the expense of aboriginal interests, and even use aboriginal people to oppose aboriginal rights. [11] By inculcating fear and doubt based on his bluff vision of things, however inaccurate that view, this "entrepreneur" persuades the native population to support a system which empowers himself (and, he promises, enables him to protect them from the dangerous and complex world outside) and keeps them weak and timid. This sort of domination is typical in northern Canada as well as Norway, and many other places. It enables outsiders to neutralise the political potential of indigenous peoples, even where they are a population majority. Some rednecks have used the technique to good advantage among the Sami in North Norway. Eidheim's study is a classic and is recommended reading for Canadians.

But despite the many pitfalls en route, structures and boundaries, jurisdiction and administration, are the building materials for the north today, for Sami or Inuit, for Norway or Canada. As we advance towards new compromises, new definitions of the plural society and of national unity, new accommodations for northern regionalism and aboriginal autonomy, we take different habits with us.

The Norwegians have used local (kommune) and county (fylke) administration to provide equalised public services throughout Norway. This has meant, in practice, that along the mountainous arctic coasts there are fine new houses, well-maintained paved roads, medical and recreational facilities and excellent schools. Canadians who have seen northern Labrador and the mid-north across Canada may feel considerable shame. Of course a price has been paid. To quote Björklund, writing about Sea Sami like the Porsanger group:

> [Numerous historical and technological factors in the early 20th century] caused the coastal Sami villages to gradually acquire a strong tinge of economic poverty. The Norwegian

> society seized on this as proof that Sami culture was "backward" and "non-viable".
>
> The breakthrough of the Labour movement towards the end of the 1930s represented a way out of this situation, but it was one which presupposed that Samis would take part on the same cultural premisses as those upon which the Norwegian State was based.
>
> The school system, decrees, regulations, directives - all were based on Norwegian culture and Norwegian ideals. Sami language and culture were not regarded as having a right to life. But for the majority, it was simply a question of one's daily bread, and the Labour Party's breakthrough created new economic possibilities, also for the Sami coastal settlement. Samis, like everybody else, saw themselves no longer doomed to a life of poverty, since the authorities' economic policy also had consequences for the villages towards the end of the 30s. Loan and support arrangements, the Fisheries Acts, and housing measures improved the possibilities of production based on a household combining agriculture and fishing. The goal was economic equality for all, and the motto "The whole people at work". The Germans' razing of North Troms and Finnmark in 1944-45 destroyed almost all that was left of the coastal Samis' material culture. This gave the economic rebuilding after the war an even greater character of uniformity, since there no longer existed essential material differences which could express coastal Sami culture and membership.
>
> Economic progress was gradually conceived of as identical with Norwegianization. In particular, the Sami villages along the coast were full of examples that economic progress presupposed ability within Norwegian culture. Poverty was the same thing as bygone days, and was associated with the Sami language and moccasins, costume and nomad stew. "We were Samis before we got a tractor!" is a witticism from that time. The effect of this was that many Samis along the coast began to doubt the justification of their own culture, and attempted to raise their children in accordance with what they took to be Norwegian values and goals. [12]

For today, the role of local administration in both North Norway and northern Canada is at an important point. Both the Sami Rights Committee and Sami Culture Committee, and the NWT government, have indicated interest in focussing greater aboriginal autonomy and culture at that level. This will require care because in both countries the local administrations, or "area administrations" as they were known in northern Canada, were devised not to respond to local people but rather to change them. The administration was designed to bring them outside goods and alter their way of life, reorganise their sense of community and of politics. There are many negative legacies in both northern Canada and North Norway, and negative attitudes towards government. Nevertheless, as Greenland has shown, these "township" governments can work well. In both Canada and Norway they hold promise.

Be that as it may, the much harder question concerns the larger issue of aboriginal autonomy and regional institutions. Northern Canada is moving towards territory-based aboriginal political settlements (both land claims and self-government) while Sami seem, for now, looking at a national legislative body and some sensitised local government. In the NWT we have seen the value of whites and aboriginal people reaching accommodations so that both can exercise general powers over economy and environment through a unified system. In North Norway the issue of regional institutions where Norwegians and Sami might share a new order has not been seriously broached among Norwegians. Some observers have even suggested that Sami bodies might become proxy North Norway bodies, like Porsanger SLF fighting for benefits for all in its area. They see Sami leading the political evolution for the whole region. This would most likely happen through the new Sami parliament.

The notion of sub-national Sami jurisdictions, or one trans-national one, has been raised. It might be workable for the reindeer areas. No less difficult solutions are being sought in areas like the Mackenzie Valley of the NWT, Yukon, and Alaska. Fifteen years have brought many political developments in northern areas, ones few of us would have dared predict.

A particularly bold proposal is for an international Lapland made up of areas from Norway, Sweden and Finland, responsible to the Nordic Council of states. The draft founding document, called "The Sami Convention", was proposed at a conference in 1985. It has not apparently had a great deal of follow-up at this time. Prepared by a law professor, Atle Grahl-Madsen, of the University of Bergen, the preamble canvasses such worthy objectives as "firmly believing that the world would be a better place", and Article 1 reads,

> Without prejudice to existing State frontiers, the territory shown on the attached map, where today is a majority Sami population, shall be constituted as an autonomous territory to be known as Samiid Aednan (Samiland).

Article 24 reads,

> The Sami Nation has the right to renewable and non-renewable natural resources in the territory. [13]

If this concept seems impractical to Canadians, it must be said that a number of the specific proposals could work well in some cooperative northlands arrangement between Finland, Sweden and Norway even now. Otherwise, the future of Samiland may be connected with whatever precedents are set for the other minority territories, all with home rule, i.e., Aaland Islands, Faroe Islands and Greenland, in the Nordic areas. All one can say now is that within the Nordic Council areas, as within Europe, boundaries are dissolving in respect of some matters and nobody can predict the end of the process. Canada's own boundary with the USA - and just what it means and where the economic jurisdictional "boundaries" are to be drawn - is itself controversial, after all. Yet boundaries must be drawn - for resource use, to know where rules begin and end, for simple daily administration.

There is also a definitional problem, within the north and within the state. Norway for some purposes counts the north only as offshore seas and the Svalbard archipelago. Canada usually means the two northern territories. But both Norwegian Lapland and the Canadian North have linkages north and south, and it is a mistake to be too restrictive. A large reason for the growth of dissident politics and ethnic politics in both Norway and Canada has been the failure of successive governments to use meaningful definitions for northern regions in policy-making or to address the imperatives of these actual regions. The north and peoples within it have been marginalised and minoritised. In recent years many outstanding Nordic thinkers have come to consider pluralism the great challenge for Nordic society, equality of opportunity having been more successfully attained than any other countries. Sami within Norway pose an immediate challenge, just as Canadian aboriginal peoples provide convenient subjects for foreign governments to raise when Canada waxes too smug about treatment of minorities.

To conclude, some words in a recent Canadian report seem apt, by extension to Norway as much as to Canada.

> The arctic and sub-arctic Yukon and Northwest Territories share many of the characteristics of the northern portions of seven provinces, stretching across Canada in a wide swath from the North Pacific to the Labrador Sea. The social, economic, cultural, and minority political challenges of this third of Canada lying the provincial North are similar to those in the territories. Together, the territorial and provincial North accounts for some 75 per cent of Canada's land area.
> ...
> At the top of every agenda is the need for a political settlement in the North. Through the 1970s and into the 1980s, Ottawa has striven to balance the interests of both territorial administrations and aboriginal peoples in the search for a consensus on workable political institutions and recognition of aboriginal culture, livelihoods, and

> access to resources. The challenge is to find an institutional framework of self-government open to all residents, aboriginal or newcomer, exercising essentially provincial powers over large territories but capable of responding to and reflecting the major ethnic and cultural differences that aboriginal peoples wish to protect. ...
>
> Meanwhile, northern peoples and northern affairs specialists have become interested in the foreign North. What many are looking at are not the large issues of international relations or economics, law, or security. Rather, the focus is on the more mundane issues of local and regional development, cultural maintenance, social and educational problems, access and rights to resources and development benefits, and political representation and institutions. In these, they find much in common with their circumpolar neighbours, and mutual benefit in communication. [14]

Notes

1. Published in paperback by Oxford University Press, 1987.

2. Professor Peter Jacobs of Montreal, speaking with ICC president Mary Simon and the author in Amsterdam airport after the Brundtland Report was published, on his return from an international conference reviewing the Commission's work.

3. Brundtland, pp. xi-xii

4. Brundtland, pp. 114-116.

5. The author spent the summer of 1970 in fulltime study of Norwegian public administration and economic planning, the teaching provided by the widest range of senior public officials and leading authorities, at the University of Oslo. A field trip to study how one locale had switched from reliance on Antarctic whaling to a paint factory was particularly memorable.

6. "Sami Reindeer pastoralism as an indigenous resource management system in Northern Norway - a contribution to the Common Property Debate", photocopy, Tromsö Museum, 1988.

7. Björklund, p. 1

8. Björklund, pp. 4-5

9. Björklund, p. 9

10. pp. 68-69, "Samithing and Sami Committees - a Useful Political and Administrative Solution for the Sami in Norway?", in Self Determination and Indigenous Peoples: Sami Rights and Northern Perspectives, edited by IWGIA, International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, Fiolstraede 10, 1171 Copenhagen K, Denmark, March 1987. At the same conference (in November 1984) my own report was on the variety of aboriginal political experience now emerging in northern Canada. The other Canadian representative was Mark Gordon of Kuujjuaq, Quebec, who established excellent rapport with the Sami and has been their guest since in North Norway.

11. In Aspects of the Lappish Minority Situation, by Harald Eidheim, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1971, 1974. Eidheim and the other Norwegian anthropologist writers often begin their essays and end them with bouts of theoretical jargon. An outsider does not know if they do this to deter non-anthropologists, like octopi squirting ink at intruders, or whether it means something to them. At any rate, if one can fight one's way past such initial obfuscation, the tender insides make good eating.

12. pp. 58-59, in "What about the Coastal Samis?", in The Sami People and Human Rights, edited Charta 79, Oslo, 1982. Not only Sami material culture was razed, but the Germans planned to slaughter the reindeer herds. It was arranged that the Sami would gather them at a given location, but the German intention had leaked out and the herders and herds vanished. After the war they returned from hiding in Finland. For another look at the impact of Labour/social democracy on Sami in ideology and in actual North Norwegian politics, Trond Thuen is recommended in his "Meaning and Transaction in Sami Ethnopolitics", ISV, University of Tromsö, (Stensilserie A - Samfunnsfag, No. 41, 1982)

13. See "The Sami Convention", page 6, in Nordic Journal of International Law, Vol. 55, Fasc. 1-2, Legal Science Institute, University of Copenhagen, 1986.

14. pp. 9-10, The North and Canada's International Relations, written by a working group of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, published March, 1988, by the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 4th floor, 111 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Canada K1P 5B5.

8 - AREAS FOR ACTION

It is possible to focus Norwegian experience more precisely. Following are some areas where specific Canadian comparative study might be useful. This list is not exhaustive, nor does it recapitulate all the suggestions made in the preceding pages.

Free trade is a current issue in Canada. Sixteen years ago it tore apart Norway when a referendum was held on joining the European Economic Community (EEC). To the surprise of the Norwegian business and political establishments, a virulent campaign which was, in some important respects, a North Norway campaign, defeated European entry. The Federal-Provincial Relations Office, Ottawa, sketched the experience of that referendum in their published study of the late 1970s on half a dozen referenda. Norwegians are sidling up to the issue again and it is a safe bet that lessons from 1972 have been learned.

As one of a number of small countries in an expanded EEC, Denmark and Ireland having opted to join at this time, Norway might have found safety in numbers in an organisation dominated by the four large and ancient rivals, Italy, Germany, France and Britain. The threat of a national loss of personality would seem negligible in such a diverse body. The situation of Canada, alone in an economic union with the USA, is much more threatening. Nevertheless, an improbable coalition of Right and Left, environmentalists and nationalists, and many others, put together a largely amateur and quite ferocious campaign in Norway. Lamentable as were some of the images in this campaign, reviving questionable sentiments and old fears (such as equating German industrial might with a second Nazi Occupation of Norway), it was an important northern campaign. Some participants believe it the real beginning of a North Norwegian politics.

By concentrating creative energies through arts and arguments, and joining together persons and interests across a North Norwegian spectrum never before mobilised in a common project, a northern political identity and its characteristic issues emerged. For a region with few forums of regional expression, this was significant. It also highlighted a uniquely northern viewpoint vis-à-vis the country as a whole - that is, highlighted northern dissidence. (Orkney and Shetland in Britain, 1975, and Greenland in Denmark, 1972, were similarly northern dissidents swimming against the national free trade tide in similar referenda.) The potential of such a movement in Canada is exciting to consider. The northern territories and provincial northern districts, the small business and aboriginal communities of the north, and those concerned with management and development of resources and their conservation, have a large - but rarely realised - mutuality of interests. Given the frequently lamented lack of northern focus on the part of national and provincial capitals, aside from divide and rule policies in aid of easy resource revenues, it is surprising that northerners have not joined together. Free trade affects more people, more directly, than does the constitutional amendment issue, for instance.

A Canadian study should look at the social and political dynamics, and the creative and cultural processes activated, in North Norway's 1972 referendum experience. Substantive issues are of secondary interest, although some of these are remarkably similar for both Norway and Canada. Canadians might consider a similar northern campaign on free trade, at some appropriate time in the months or years ahead. The success of such a campaign would not be measured by whether or not free trade were ultimately approved or defeated; increased northern leverage in the negotiation of specific final regulations would suffice. But the more general benefits would be the mobilisation of a northern political coalition to concert influence on national issues, something which could be repeated as the need arose; an increased mutual understanding among principal northern opinion-makers and public figures whose goodwill could provide a climate for resolving issues within the North such as constitutional and claims settlements; and promotion within Canada as a whole of a northern Canadian ideology and agenda for politics, society and development.

"Official" Canadian political ideology is now essentially negative - it would remove barriers to commerce, remove structural inequalities between persons and groups, and be nationally homogenising, albeit pouring the homogenised product into ten separate if uniform bottles called provinces so as to protect the minimum Quebec autonomy within Canada. This is what is typically offered Canadians - e.g., in the Macdonald Royal Commission report on Canada's future. Such a negative formulation may be especially vulnerable to any ideology with social and cultural content, or other positive vision. A northern campaign on an issue of national survival and identity like free trade could be very powerful.

Institutions of self-government and northern administration would be a good subject for an early Canadian-Norwegian workshop. The best questions for such comparative treatment would be northern institutions (e.g., territorial governments and fylke bodies) and their impact on national policy; local/regional administration as vehicles of infrastructure, development and equal opportunity policy in northern areas; aboriginal rights and culture vis-à-vis "public government", and how to accommodate these; cross-cultural Sami-Norwegian and native-white relations in northern politics and development; and environmental management in relation to aboriginal rights and self-government. The ideal situation would be to have about a dozen people from North Norway representing the Sami organisations; a Sami kommune; Finnmark fylke; the Sami Rights Committee; the Sami Institute; the Sami language, Sami ethnic relations and Sami museum sections of the University of Tromsö; and the Norwegian government (ministry of local government/Sami affairs and/or reindeer administration). A similar number from Canada could represent territorial cabinet, Aboriginal Rights and Constitutional Development Secretariat, the Dene, Métis and Inuit claims and political development organisations, the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and PCO/FPRO, and the relevant academic and consultant communities. More places could be added for the Yukon. A small group would be best for good discussion. Otherwise, one might limit the participants to small numbers but have some sessions open to larger audiences, a round-table format which has worked well in similar cases. An experienced and uninvolved chairman like Thomas Berger (whose writing is known and respected in Norway) would be best. Papers would be prepared as bases for discussion, and could be edited or enlarged for subsequent publication together with some account of the discussions. Such an event would best take place in the territorial capital, so the visitors can grasp the great scope and variety of NWT administration, with side trips or part of the program held in Dene and Inuit communities.

Cross-cultural relations is a specialty study area of Norway's social anthropologists, many of whom have done field work in Canada. That and the overlapping area of ethno-politics, or "political anthropology", has much importance for understanding and sorting out the present problems of northern and aboriginal development. It is a field which should be more developed in northern Canada. It is an important element of almost all subject areas in the tentative list provided here. For those Canadians who are suspicious of anthropologists, it should be noted that in Norway they deal with current realities and pressing issues, not just with past traditions - indeed, they are important contributors to political and social progress. Professor Per Mathiesen heads the relevant unit at the University of Tromsö, and Professor Harald Eidheim at the University of Oslo. Terje Brantenberg who has worked and written in Inuit Canada, Ivar Björklund with northern Canadian interests and author of a landmark social history of a North Norwegian region, and Georg Henriksen whose Canadian study, Hunters of the Barrens, is a world classic, are useful contacts.

Sustainable development strategies and Brundtland Report follow-up are natural subjects for exchanges because of the great input of both Canada and Norway in the Brundtland Commission. A Canadian group involving territorial and federal government officials, aboriginal organisations, consultants and perhaps the Institute for Research on Public Policy with its post-Brundtland project team in Ottawa could visit North Norway and, for instance, see how the Saltfjell project in Nordland, coastal fisheries and/or reindeer industry are incorporating the new thinking. The Canadians could brief the Norwegians on our own substantial post-Brundtland work. Aboriginal groups, in particular, or aboriginal communities, might consider joint projects in each other's country.

The development and social role of a northern university should be examined with reference to the University of Tromsö. That institution was created as a northern studies centre. It would be important to learn about the several institutes and their projects, as well as fieldwork. The relationship between the university and the aboriginal community would be an important topic, and Sami-related work in the social science and language institutes should be canvassed. As well, the multi-disciplinary approaches of the university to specific northern problem areas in economics and development are most relevant to Canada. A mature political life requires independent sources of expertise, research and commentary, and only an independent university can provide these. The Australian National University's North Australia Research Unit in Darwin is another example. It is astonishing that the Government of Canada has expended so much money and idealism for so many decades on northern education but has failed to advance the cause of a northern university. It might be an ideal national project.

International aboriginal rights promotion is an important part of Canada's human rights activity. It is now coordinated by the Department of External Affairs, together with other federal departments and national aboriginal groups, through regular meetings. Although this arrangement does credit to External Affairs, and is aimed at effective Canadian input into important international processes, it has not yet developed into a fully effective system. However, the Northwest Territories includes the three Canadian aboriginal peoples - Indian, Inuit and Metis - and has a government more immersed in aboriginal matters than any other in the Americas. There is also a certain intimacy, despite political and constitutional disagreements, between aboriginal and white leaders, officials and public, in the NWT. A working group supported by the NWT government could make more rapid progress on some issues than the national-level body seems likely to do. It could either feed into that body, or become a part of it, or act independently in advancing the issues of aboriginal rights in the world. There certainly is room for an NWT initiative, and substantive work would probably be welcomed by the federal coordinators who have little scope to initiate any themselves. This would advertise the unique experience and progressiveness of the NWT and be in line with the stated government objective of using circumpolar relations to heighten NWT government profile and crediblity. It would also be a major contribution on behalf of all Canada to the world.

Métissage, the problems and identity of mixed-blood people, is a much more general issue in North Norway than in northern Canada. There have been centuries of mixing and adaptation, as well as political and identity struggles within the mixed-blood Sami community. Norwegian mixed-blood Sami have felt great pressure from settlement, government policy, development and even their Sami kin, and the amount of study done on these issues and the degree of articulation by SLF and others make comparative study appropriate. The conflict between mixed-blood and other Sami is threatening to undermine the whole prospect of Sami recognition and rights. The different emphases of SLF and NSR are sometimes similar to past differences between Métis and Dene. The best points of entry for study would be the cross-cultural relations group in the University of Tromsö's social science institute and Tromsö Museum Sami section, and SLF itself if it wished to join in.

Reindeer management in Norway is an example of commercial organisation and public regulation of an aboriginal livelihood in which a powerful aboriginal producer lobby, NRL, plays a central and official role. This structure is similar to what is being created under Canadian native claims settlements, but the many decades of experience in Norway provide a good opportunity for learning how things can work in practice. There are major benefits, and serious drawbacks, to this system, and now some dissident herders are challenging the whole structure. The legal and social framework of the herding industry, the dangers of inviting the state into the heart of aboriginal culture, state demands for "rationalisation" of a traditional socio-economic structure, the ability of Sami to achieve cultural ends through this "industry lobby", the effectiveness of such a body as NRL in protecting the Sami environment, etc., all deserve study along with the more straightforward questions of meat marketing and pastoralism. Canadian scholar Robert Paine at Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, is an expert on these questions, as are Tromsö Museum's Ivar Björklund and Tromsö university's Terje Brantenberg. Bergen university's Georg Henriksen has studied the problems of state intervention in an Sami lifestyle. NRL has its offices in Tromsö and has a responsive executive and staff. NRL also has excellent relations with the national reindeer administration (Ministry of Agriculture).

International northern relations among Norway, Finland and Sweden are institutionalised through the Nordkalott group of the Nordic Council of governments. Related to this is the Nordic Sami Council which, like the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, represents the aboriginal people of three adjoining countries. The three countries have three different national security policies - one neutral, one NATO and one in a special treaty with the USSR - but cooperate and coordinate across a wide range of issues which affect daily life. Despite regular spasms of national boundary insistence in one or other country, the extent of cooperation is instructive. The enlightened process of drawing the boundary in the 18th century may be a model as well - the nation-states having divided according to aboriginal land use. Today the three states even share border duties - for instance, at Karasjok the Finns look after border formalities for both Norway and Finland, thereby reducing overhead, and institutionalising cooperation rather than confrontation, at a frontier. Questions of sharing northern development, markets and facilities, as well as human convenience - e.g. shopping across borders - could be usefully investigated, as background to improvements in Canada-Alaska-Greenland relations. For years Alaska, Yukon and British Columbia have had regular meetings between leaders assisted by staff. The Sami border status, partly based on the Lappacodicilen of 1751 and on modern regulation, is also of interest, especially involving human and reindeer movements. The relationship of Sami to the Nordic Council - a sort of observer status, Norway having rejected the Faroe Islands and Greenland status of participants for Sami - may also provide some lessons in Canada where northern peoples groups are too often excluded from official forums sponsored by the national government. The Norwegian foreign ministry would be the logical starting point for such inquiries.

Similarly, multi-national coordination of aboriginal policy as recommended for Norway, Sweden and Finland by the Sami Rights Committee and Sami Culture Committee is intriguing. It is so remarkable, indeed, that one is tempted to suggest Alaska, Greenland, Yukon and NWT might try having an initial meeting, in spite of all the obvious hesitations. It could only do good for officials and aboriginal leaders to share some of the positive experience they have gained. It would also benefit groups like Inuit and Dene who are multi-national peoples. It is much more likely that such an initiative would succeed if promoted by the NWT than by Ottawa. Sometimes federal circumpolar interest seems to be an interest in discouraging circumpolar activity more than facilitating it.

Northern relations with the USSR may also be a relevant subject, given warmer recent Canadian-Soviet relations in northern affairs and the NWT government's recent initiatives vis-à-vis the Soviets. The North Norwegians know the Soviets as neighbours, not merely as remote Cold War bogeymen, and this makes for a more intimate relationship. Despite many negotiations on specific issues over the years - notably maritime boundaries and Svalbard - the Norwegians have only recently, especially since Gorbachev's

Murmansk speech of October 1, 1987, begun to think seriously of vigorous and expanding cooperation with the Soviets. The Soviets have major technological needs in the arctic, ones where Norwegians and other Western countries already have expertise - e.g., offshore oil and gas production. The Soviets also have a history of active spying, as well as more recent submarine and electronic surveillance, in North Norway. In spite of this, Norwegian-Soviet relations are likely to be more normal and neighbourly than Soviet links with North Americans. No doubt Canadians could learn from Norwegian experience which is of long standing. Any Canadian inquiries in such matters must, of course, be through Canadian and Norwegian foreign ministries.

Effective Norwegian planning and implementation of public services, infrastructure and economic development is the most evident contrast between Canadian and Norwegian northern areas. Even allowing for the Norwegian coast's milder climate and ice-free harbours, more comparable to northern British Columbia and south-west Alaska than to the NWT, the Norwegian achievement is stunning. Norwegian equalisation delivers to real people, not just to provincial treasuries. Nor has the full arctic winter inland prevented such development. The Norwegian commitment to equal services and facilities in all parts of Norway makes Canadian equalisation seem paltry. More recently, some of the environmental and social costs of these policies have been questioned by some Sami and others in the north. The whole subject deserves study, and especially the roles of local and regional administrations and elective bodies in planning and implementation.

Sami education and language policy are important areas for study by Canadians, not least because there is a longer history of practice than in northern Canada. The relationship of the Sami section of Tromsö university's language institute to these developments should be fully canvassed. As well, the work of the Sami Culture Committee should be discussed with Committee members and advisers.

The role of local government in North Norwegian administration and daily life may be of particular interest to the NWT. Any study should involve the local government ministry in Oslo, the Troms or Finnmark fylke administration and field visits in Sami kommunes like Kaafjord in north-eastern Troms, or Karasjok and Kautokeino in Finnmark. The complexities of Sami politics are most evident at kommune level, and should be discussed with Sami organisations and activists, as should the various recommendations for Sami input and institutions at the local level of government (e.g., in the first report of the Sami Rights Committee).

Economic development and small business assistance are areas of particular interest to the NWT and, indeed, one NWT mixed government and business team has already visited North Norway and produced a stimulating report. Further studies may be useful, but several cautions are suggested. North Norway's ruin in World War II and frequent state of depression through history have made government direction more acceptable than is the case in Canada, over and above the greater European tolerance of bureaucracy as compared with North America; tax structure and taxation levels in Norway are very different than in Canada; and economic planning is normal, universal, understood and accepted in Norway.

Living with offshore oil has been an art developed in Norway over years of North Sea practice. The Norwegian government and industry have undoubted experience here. In days past Norway shared some ideas with federal Ottawa. The University of Tromsø has also had multi-disciplinary groups under social science chairmanship looking at social and economic effects on the communities and people onshore. As elsewhere, oil offshore poses a threat, and public opinion is divided. But only now is the bigtime looming in the Norwegian north. Canadians looking at similar problems may wish to see how Norwegian oil politics, policy and practice evolve in the north, and how the considerable social planning advances.

Comfortable winter living through public planning and construction is the focus of Canada's vigorous Livable Winter Cities movement (whose leaders have been most impressed by their visits to Tromsø). A major Canadian gathering to share experience with Nordic representatives has been planned for 1990 in Tromsø. The needs and experience of aboriginal peoples are to be included. Certainly a government like the NWT which is so involved in community and housing design should play a major role in such events. Joint projects between North Norway and the NWT could also be considered.

The writing of individual histories of northern territories abroad, including North Norway, could be sponsored by the NWT government as a major contribution to circumpolar relations. Published in English, these would focus on indigenous society, settler peoples, ethnic relations, social change and political development, and be useful to schools, public officials and general readers.

Many other subjects could be added to any list, especially the more technical and professional subjects - fisheries research, wildlife management, alcohol abuse.

9 - NORWAY, CANADA AND INTERNATIONALISM

Norway is the great rags to riches story of the 20th century. A small population, especially after half the country de-camped to America, has survived wars, depression and occupation, and created one of the most pleasant and prosperous societies in history. Norwegians have done this through progressive social ethics, determined politics, a reasoned approach to policy backed by planning and expertise, and a commitment to betterment. They have also exported their best to the world, through international leadership on, e.g., foreign aid, refugees and human rights. Now that Sami rights and culture, northern economics and pluralism in society are national issues, one may be sure that Norwegians will tackle these with their customary verve and probable success.

It is clear that just as Norway and Canada share many interests overall, they share much northern experience - successes, failures and continuing problems. There are many aspects of northern affairs which have not been dealt with here due to space, but which would have reinforced the sense of Canadian and Norwegian parallels. But the way these similar matters are approached differs, and herein lies much scope for useful trading of experience.

One senses that in the northern world layers of reality are spreading outwards without always integrating in situ. Inuit are developing an international arctic policy and an international sustainable development strategy. The NWT government has announced a very exciting and dynamic strategy in its Directions for the 1990s overview, complete with a strategy for international circumpolar work, but specifically avoids prejudging an aboriginal political and economic settlement with the national government, pending final aboriginal negotiations, even though that leaves a huge piece missing and may make plans hard to realise. Canadian national authorities at home, and others travelling abroad, discuss northern future scenarios as reality when in fact these are speculative, leaving the actuality of peoples, homelands and existing northern authorities aside. And world forums of science meet, share ideas and agree, often without commitment or benefit to actual northern need. Or governments form emergency groups on sovereignty or other arctic issues of the moment and leave out those directly involved. In short, there is a lot of action and a lot of goodwill, a lot of eagerness to cooperate and willingness to look at the big picture. But neither in Norway nor Canada do all these worthwhile activities add up to action integrated territorially, politically, socially, culturally, economically or environmentally. It is as if the Royal Ballet's vast troupe were entering a darkened hall to perform Swan Lake, but, finding neither each other, stage nor direction, danced something or other in their own corners with whomever was to hand. Good exercise, but hardly a show.

Part of this problem results from general failure to recognise the real actors as opposed to the formally accepted actors. Much of it belies the limitations or absence of existing institutions. Broadly drawn forums have much to recommend them.

Canadian individuals who have experience with Norway are quick to see the value of greater contacts. The Norwegians are easy to work with, open and professional, while less inclined to tarry over formality and ceremonies than Danes or Swedes. The social science and government administration traditions of the Norwegians are of the empirical and "can do" sort which North Americans appreciate, and while often proceeding from a different intellectual and historical framework than ours, are less cluttered with theory than others in Europe. Norwegians who know Canada are also favourably disposed towards us, and interested in developments in our North. However, as a small country which has a distinct history and has survived by resisting the cultures of others pressed on it, and as the world's most nationalistic society, Norway is not always looking for opportunities to share with and learn from others. What is more, many Norwegians might not care to draw attention to problems and paradoxes in North Norway. For these reasons the current interest of Norway's foreign minister and ministry in Canada-Norway cooperation is an opportunity not to be missed.

International relations are a matter for the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa. However, in the case of friendly countries like Norway, the Department has few sensitivities about informal contacts. More importantly, the Department does not have the funds or capacity required to develop a new sector like circumpolar socio-economic cooperation. The enthusiastic atmosphere generated by the December, 1987, Tromsö meetings of Canadian officials with Norwegians may not be followed up.

The essential requirements of both ad hoc and ongoing exchanges are to involve northern indigenous peoples groups as well as official bodies, and in the case of Norway to draw on the expertise and field work of the University and Museum in Tromsö. It would also be intelligent and fruitful to arrange for exchanges of some months or a year with Norwegian fylke or kommune administrations, Sami organisations, Sami Institute, and Tromsö Museum and University whereby Canadians could visit, work or study, learn, and prepare reports on their return. Print and broadcast media, including Sami press and broadcasting, could also be useful venues for exchanges.

In any system of circumpolar cooperation, different needs and levels should be considered, and their differing requirements. The different kinds of possible cooperation are

- northern people working to solve problems within a region by reference to experience or expertise in other such areas;

- northern peoples cooperating across national frontiers for current convenience or because of historical, cultural or social ties;

- the global nature of science and the "common future" of mankind, in the words of the Brundtland Report's title, with increasing needs for international cooperation for polar scientific research;

- international bi- or multi-lateral cooperation in economic, environmental, transportation, hydrocarbon exploration projects, etc., involving national authorities; and

- international security cooperation.

The final item is, unfortunately, the only one which has received national political serious attention in Canada in recent years. Although that may be the best place to make sweeping changes, as Gorbachev and Reagan have recently shown, the daily life and future interests of the arctic world need not wait upon sunny moods in Moscow-Washington diplomacy. The other four areas of work are important in their own right. What is more, successful networking on those levels may reinforce the sense of mutual interests in a peaceful and prosperous arctic which can provide encouragement to Great Power and Superpower diplomacy. If arctic progress were to depend merely on the energy, enthusiasm or attention of foreign ministries, God help us all!

While the five categories of circumpolar cooperation noted above may lend themselves to different instruments and agencies for realisation, that is not to say a general forum is not desirable. There have been practical problems over many years in achieving workable forums, although very recent work in scientific relations seems to have been proceeding well.

In an attempt to link international relations needs with the domestic North in a comprehensive and practical framework, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA) working group report of March, 1988, The North and Canada's International Relations [1], made some relevant observations and recommendations. It particularly noted the desirability of cooperating with the Nordic countries in respect of northern affairs, including exploring the possibility of a joint forum with the Nordic Council for the purpose. The report also argued repeatedly for the full involvement of northern peoples and northern governments in international circumpolar relations. It looked at the experience of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, which it commended, and speculated on a future Arctic Basin

Council. The CIIA report would be a useful starting point for anyone interested in pursuing the question of Canada's future relations in the international North.

The Norwegians are interested in a range of northern policy, geo-political, economic and strategic questions which go beyond the largely domestic issues recommended for action in the previous chapter. Some of those questions may be beyond the interest of the NWT government today. But in Norway as in Canada, the distinctions between regional and national interest, and domestic and foreign policy, are sometimes arbitrary. The Norwegians, through their lack of "northern affairs" agencies, are largely unconscious of the relevance and excellence of much of their own experience in the North. For increasing arctic cooperation and consciousness, Norway may be the best and most compatible partner that Canada will ever find, and the Government of the Northwest Territories may best combine the needed interest, will, expertise and resources of any official body in Canada.

Notes.

1. Published by the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 4th floor, 111 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Canada K1P 5B5.

APPENDIX I

SAMI LANGUAGE ACT

(translation by Translation Bureau, Secretary of State Department, Ottawa, from proposed Act in Sami Culture Committee First Report)

Chapter I - General Provisions

Section 1. Principal Provision

Lappish and Norwegian are equal languages and should be made equal as official languages according to the provision in this Act.

Section 2. Scope of Act

The provisions in Chapter III of the Act only apply to the municipalities of Karasjok, Kautokeino, Kaafjord, Nesseby, Porsanger and Tana.

The King determines if Chapter III of the Act, or parts of this, shall apply in other Lappish settlements.

(Minority proposal:

(The King shall at any time decide which areas to be included under Chapter III or parts of it.)

Section 3. Lappish as principal municipal language

Municipal councils can determine that Lappish shall be introduced as principal language in the internal municipal administration.

Section 4. Exceptions from Act

Where special conditions indicate, the King can wholly or in part, make exceptions for bodies that fall under the Act.

The King can in cases of dispute decide if a body or a private person involved in administration come under the Act.

Chapter II. Right to use Lappish and its use in training

Section 5. Right to use Lappish

Lappish speaking people have the right to use their own language in order to attend to their own interests in courts or law and police authorities and as patients in health institutions.

They have similarly right to individual clerical service in the mother tongue.

Section 6. Right to training [i.e., education] in Lappish

All Lapps have the right to training in Lappish.

In this connection, Lapp means anyone counting themselves as a Lapp, and who either:

a) has Lappish as first language, or

b) has a father or mother with Lappish as first language, or

c) has a grandfather or grandmother with Lappish as first language, or

d) is tied to a Lappish environment through marriage, residence or while growing up.

Pupils have the right to be taught Lappish, and in Lappish, according to the Act on the elementary school and Act on secondary training (education).

Chapter III. Lappish Language in Lappish Central Areas

Section 7. Right to use Lappish

Anyone has the right to use Lappish in contact with municipal bodies. The same applies to county administration bodies whose work areas and responsibility include the area where the person in question is living. State administration and agencies whose work area is limited to one of the counties where Chapter III applies, is considered equal to county administration.

The same applies to officials and civil servants in state and county administration whose work area is limited to the municipalities mentioned in Section 2.

Officials and civil servants in other public agencies that are affected by this chapter can also obtain such leave to the extent the agency lack personnel with expertise in Lappish.

Refusal of leave application according to this provision can be appealed to the Ministry. The rules in the Administration Act, Sections 24 and 25 and Chapter VI apply correspondingly.

Section 9. Preference in Hiring

When making appointments in bodies required to follow the provisions in this chapter, Lappish speaking applicants have preference if they otherwise fulfill the requirements for the position.

Section 10. Public Announcements

Public advertisements and announcements of any kind shall by made both in Norwegian and in Lappish.

Chapter IV. Administrative Provisions

Section 11. Translation of Acts

Acts of special interest for the Lappish population shall be translated into Lappish.

Section 12. Lappish Language Council

A Lappish language council is to be established which takes care of the duties and interests established in this Act.

The King issues further instructions as to the composition, appointments, length of service, etc., and on the duties of the Council.

Section 13. Preference in Hiring

Where making appointments (hiring) in bodies required to follow the Act, Lappish speaking applicants have preference under otherwise equal conditions.

Section 14. Right to Educational Leave

Officials and public servants in other official bodies than those mentioned in Section 8 have the right to take educational leave with pay to acquire the competence in Lappish to the extent it is required in the position.

The provision in Section 8, fourth subsection, also applies here.

Section 15. Right to Appeal

If some feel that a body or agency does not follow the rules established under, or pursuant to, this Act, they can appeal to a higher level. The right to appeal only applies in cases that apply to the individual in question.

Lappish organizations still always have the right to appeal.

The provisions in the Administration Act Chapter VI also apply when the case fits under this Act.

Section 16. Covering Expenses

The expenses incurred by municipalities and county administrations are in total to be covered by the state.

Section 17. Report to Parliament

The King shall every second year present a report to Parliament on the implementation of this Act.

Section 18. Coming into effect, etc.

This Act comes into effect from the time specified by the King.

The King issues further regulations on implementation of this Act.

Notes to the draft proposed by the committee

In the notes the Committee emphasises that the objective of the Act is to promote the equality between Lappish and Norwegian languages and that proper emphasis must be placed on this in the interpretation of the individual sections.